

The Jane Austen Society



Report for 2022

The Jane Austen Society

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Chairman's Report for 2022 and Message from the President

The most significant events of the Society's year are reported elsewhere. Its conversion into a Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO) was masterminded by Heather Thomas; we are enormously grateful to her for leading us through this complicated, tedious but necessary process. The year also saw our return in July to Chawton House, after two years' absence. Those plague years apart, we have held our AGM on the lawn there since 1956, but later in the year Chawton House told us that as a charity they felt that they must charge us a substantial fee in future. That would be beyond our resources. We have chosen Winchester College as the venue for 2023 (especial thanks to Matthew Huntley and above all Michael Kenning for their work in arranging this). We hope and believe that members will enjoy this new setting, but we have made no decisions about future years, and welcome opinions from members.

In my speech at the July AGM, I reported the founding in Nigeria of (we think) Africa's first Jane Austen society. They exist in many European countries, although France still seems to be holding out (and although *Emma* was translated into French in the year of its publication). Despite that pocket of resistance, Jane Austen's success in world domination seems to be going better than Ernst Stavro Blofeld's. She is still dominating screens large and small. However, the new Netflix version of *Persuasion* got dire reviews: one asked, 'Is this the worst Netflix drama ever?' It could not be the worst Austen adaptation, since the television *Mansfield Park*, starring Billie Piper, is unbeatably incompetent. I have still not seen the new *Persuasion*, and so have not let myself be blinded by evidence, but to judge from the stills, it fell for the oldest snobbery in the book: the settings are much too grand. By contrast, to come to Chawton, to see the big house and the cottage, is to appreciate the sorts of places and social levels in which the novels are actually set. Although our AGMs are unlikely to return there, it will remain, like Winchester, a site of Austen pilgrimage.

Richard Jenkins
Chairman

Peace and War, Jane Austen and George III

With the dark clouds of war looming over Europe's Eastern marchlands, I have been escaping by reading, in particular Andrew Roberts's magisterial new biography of George III. This biography paints a much more sympathetic portrait of one of our longest reigning monarchs than the conventional interpretation of a tyrannical figure who lost the American colonies and suffered from bouts of madness.

George was on the throne of England throughout Jane Austen's short life and Roberts's book is a reminder of how well-governed Britain was in those long

years, despite the challenges – first from across the Atlantic, then from across the Channel – by a benign government that enabled the people of these islands to survive and prosper, as the agricultural and then the industrial revolutions gathered speed.

Thus Jane Austen's books, her letters, her diaries all remind us that even in times of war, life for most people goes on most of the time mostly as it always does. Our daily preoccupations – eating, sleeping, working, travelling, keeping well – do not change just because a Putin or a Napoleon threatens the frontiers of our world. Of course, there are side-effects: higher prices, shortages, increased interest in the news, worries about family or friends caught up in the conflict. But for most of us, most of the time, the essential elements of our human existence remain as before.

Those things that really matter to us – family and friends above all – do not change because of war. But war makes us appreciate even more than ever those values of kindness and connection, of humanity and humour, for which Jane Austen's genius stands, across the centuries and the continents.

Sherard Cowper-Coles
President

*Minutes of the 66th Annual General Meeting
held at Chawton House
on 9 July 2022*

1. **The President**, Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, welcomed members and their guests to the 66th Annual General Meeting after a two-year absence caused by Covid restrictions on public gatherings. He noted that his function, as usual, was to draw members' attention to various housekeeping details.

2. **The Chairman**, Richard Jenkyns, said that it was delightful to be back at Chawton for the first time since the pandemic. The annual meeting of the leaders of groups and branches, held on Zoom in February, had shown their resilience in devising virtual activities, but also how eager they were to gather in person again.

He noted that two trustees had retired in the course of the year. David Richardson had played a large and much appreciated part in the society's educational work, in setting up the 250 Fund and in preparing the ground for the new website. Elizabeth Proudman had given exceptionally long service to the society, notably as vice-chairman, as acting chairman and then as permanent chairman, leading and guiding the society through a difficult time. After stepping down from this position, her sage and humane advice had remained invaluable. (David was not able to be present; a presentation of flowers was made to Elizabeth in the afternoon, before the lecture.)

The Chairman then referred to the proposal to become a CIO. He was surprised at the elaborate nature of legal procedures, but commented that he would not wish to see lawyers begging in the streets. However, the complications were partly due to the JAS constitution being cumbrous and out of date. The trustees principally involved were David Richardson, Sharron Bassett, Maureen Stiller and above all Heather Thomas, who had put an immense amount of work into getting the process sorted out. The Charity Commission's template is designed for bodies unlike ours, but the Society had tried to keep as close to it as practicable. There would now be term limits for trustees. The society would in any case need to recruit new trustees, as several will be retiring in 2024. Members were warmly encouraged to let the secretary or chairman know should they be interested: 'Could it be you?'

Turning to less parochial matters, the Chairman said that the society had heard from Nigeria about plans to set up what is believed to be the first Jane Austen Society in Africa. That means that there are now societies in every continent except Antarctica.

Finally, the Chairman regretted that Professor Janet Todd was too unwell to make the journey from Cambridge to deliver the afternoon lecture. He expressed his gratitude to Maggie Lane for stepping in, at very short notice, to replace her.

3. **The Treasurer**, Matthew Huntley, drew the attention of the meeting to the accounts for 2021, printed at the end of the *Annual Report*.

Total income was over double that of 2020, mainly because of the York conference (delayed from 2020) the success of which was clear from the admirable £18k turnover. And of course the comparative for 2020 had been nil because of the cancellation. A further bonus came from branch income which rose from £10k to over £19k. For this there was a special reason, the addition of £8k of new funds brought in from the advent of our two new branches, £7k of which came from the London Branch. These new funds had been treated as income in the year 2021 and needed of course be seen as a one-off addition to the Society's overall current assets, and very much to be welcomed.

A special mention was made of our 250 fund, set up in anticipation of the 250th anniversary. This continues to bring in a most generous contribution – £1,640 in 2021, a significant source of which had been from the generosity of life members. In the year we used part of it to fund the Society's Essay Prize. As and when the fund allows, we shall continue to support particular initiatives at JAH.

On the flip side of the equation, total expenditure also more than doubled. The £3k increase in branch expenditure resulted from the inclusion of the London Branch. The item under Events was almost entirely made up of the £16k cost of the York Conference (more than covered by its related income). Last but not least was the cost of the new website, well worth the expense but still a major item of expenditure – the largest we have ever made – at over £25k. The good news is that we were able to absorb this exceptional extra load in the single year 2021.

The bottom line of the final page showed a deficit of just over £7k, which compared with a surplus of £5k in the previous year. What it could not show, however, was that since the start of 2022 we have moved into a period of dangerously high inflation when we can no longer assume that our income will keep pace with expenditure. It is something that the trustees will be monitoring closely.

Looking at our balance sheet, it was evident that the largest item related to Fixed Assets. Of the two items under this head, the first one remained the £60k valuation of the portrait of Edward Knight which belongs to the Society and can be seen at Chawton House. The other was our investment in the COIF Charities Investment Fund. This bubbled up nicely in 2021 increasing by over £30k to £259k. However, since the start of 2022 financial markets had been hard hit, and unsurprisingly the value of our investment was back where it was at the start of 2021. The trustees remained confident nevertheless that it is a sound investment and the important thing is that it has maintained a reliable yield of around 3%, worth over £6.5k to our annual income.

Turning to membership, the total number stood at 1090 (counting joint members as two) of whom 436 were life members. The number was significantly down from the previous year because of our continuing operation to clean the database. The CIO ballot had highlighted the essential need to have a 100% accurate list of

members, all of whom were of course entitled to vote. That it had been achieved in time is thanks to a great deal of work by Sharron our membership secretary with the crucial advice and help of Heather Thomas in finalizing the ballot list. It is unfortunate that a number of non-payers and short-payers unresponsive to reminders have had to be taken off the database of paid-up members. But it is vital that we all have complete confidence that every member (not a life member) is fully-paid-up.

Sharron's workload had been significantly relieved by having Fiona Riley to look after online membership. As expected, an important result of the new website had been the growth in online membership applications paying their subscriptions by PayPal. To date seventy-four new members had signed up this way – with more every week – and it has proved particularly helpful for our overseas members. In addition sixty-three existing members had been given access to the members-only section of the website, a number which will continue to grow. It was hoped that by offering the alternatives of paying by paypal, standing order, cheque or credit card, we have made it as easy as possible for new and existing members to maintain their subscriptions. Thanks were expressed to members who choose to set up standing orders, and also particular welcome to those who opt for gift aid.

A vote of members of the Society and its branches was held with respect to the following resolution:

That the trustees for the time being of The Jane Austen Society, registered charity number 1040613 (the 'Society') be and are hereby authorised:

- 1. to make application to the Charity Commission for the registration of a charitable incorporated organisation with the same name and having the same charitable objects as the Society (the 'New Society'); and*
- 2. upon receiving Charity Commission agreement to the registration of the New Society, to dissolve the Society and to vest the Society's assets in the New Society and to do all things necessary and incidental to ensure that the New Society assumes and continues the activities of the Society and that the members of the Society become members of the New Society.*

The resolution was carried by 539 votes in favour, 2 against with 4 ballots spoiled.

Branches and Groups

Reports for 2022

Bath and Bristol Group

Members: Open membership. *Subscription:* None. *Cost of events:* £10 for talk and tea with sandwiches; £2 discount for Bath Royal Literary & Scientific Institution members.

The year 2022 opened with people still quite nervous about gathering together in public so our first talk of the year was on Zoom. The audience thoroughly enjoyed David Richardson's very thoughtful talk on a subject hardly mentioned, the fathers in Jane Austen. He had some interesting aspects for us to dwell on and the Zoomers really appreciated his talk.

In June we had Joy Pibworth talking to us, again on Zoom, and her subject was that abiding English panacea for all ills, a nice cup of tea! 'The Cup That Cheers' was beautifully illustrated with some lovely china which of course whetted our appetite so it was a shame we weren't live with our usual tea afterwards. Joy's talk was most engaging and despite tea being our national drink, we all learned something.

Our last talk was in October and, after several years of Zooming or nothing, it was live at BRLSI in the Elwin Room with tea afterwards. It was lovely to actually have people in the audience and to chat afterwards and for the first time this year life felt normal. Our speaker was Angela Barlow, someone we always enjoy listening to at BRLSI, and her subject, 'Jane Austen's London', provided a well-researched and fascinating insight into the city.

Diana White

Cambridge Group

Members: 27. *Subscription:* £15 individuals £20 couples. *Cost of events:* Meetings free to members except ticketed events. £5 for guests in person or on Zoom. *Publication:* one newsletter per year.

The Cambridge Group has continued to embrace the technology that was so necessary during the Corona Virus pandemic in order to reach as many members as possible at each meeting. It is such a pleasure to meet up with long term members who are no longer able to meet us in person.

We chose *Persuasion* as our theme for 2022. In February we had an illustrated talk called 'Places in *Persuasion*' via Zoom with some members attending in person at our venue in Chesterton while others joined in online. The talk was given by our Chair, Hazel Mills, from her home in Denmark, where she took us through the places Jane would have known in Lyme Regis and Bath and those known to the characters in *Persuasion*. There were some fascinating facts regarding Jane's lodgings, both in Bath and in Lyme, where the Austens' holiday let was just a minute's walk from the Anning family's house and fossil shop where Jane may

well have seen five-year-old Mary Anning, the celebrated dinosaur hunter.

In May we were treated to a very entertaining evening entitled 'Dramatic Persuasion'. Group member, Margy Serle Supramaniam, had written and directed scenes from the novel with the actors in costume.

The beginning of July saw our annual Strawberry Tea at Madingley Hall with our Chair, Hazel, joining via Zoom from a sunny garden in Denmark. We were thrilled to have the return of harpist, Jo Wallace Hadrill, to add some extra elegance to the proceedings. Members enjoyed a wonderful afternoon tea, joined in with a very successful raffle and took part in a quiz arranged by Vicki Kerr Smith.

Our planned meeting in October, a discussion entitled 'Can I Persuade You?', was postponed and then cancelled due to the leader of the discussion, our secretary, Vicki Kerr Smith, going down with Covid along with our chair, Hazel Mills, catching the virus in France and being detained there with no fuel due to the oil refinery strikes and very limited internet at their campsite.

However, our Birthday Lunch in December was a great success. The meal took place again at Madingley Hall, but this time, quite fittingly, in the library. This year, thanks to Zoom, we were able to join up with not only members of the Cambridge Group that could not attend in person, but also five members of the Jane Austen Society of Jylland, Denmark, which Hazel set up after moving there. The two groups ate similar delicious three course meals and enjoyed great conversation together. We were then all treated to two very entertaining presentations by committee members Ron Hodgson and Margaret Serle Supramaniam from Madingley Hall. Ron talked to us about quill pens and writing desks, with an emphasis on Jane's writing desk as an example. Margaret Serle Supramaniam was able to show her writing desk to the Cambridge Group and Hazel Mills showed hers to the Danish Group. Margaret shared a dozen letters and documents which have been passed down her family. These included a receipt of payment for the hire of various horses and equipage from a Mr William Curtis in 1775, and a letter of 1794 describing the assemblies in Southampton and a visit to Netley Abbey. The parallels with Jane's own letters and the novels were very marked.



*Mid-19C writing slope
belonging to Hazel Mills.*

The Cambridge Group has always struggled to get a larger membership in Cambridge, where we compete with many other literary societies, but advertising our events on social media means that we are now gaining new members from further afield who are very happy to join us via Zoom for our meetings.

Hazel Mills

Hampshire Branch

Members: 83. *Subscription:* £5 individual, £8 per couple. *Publications:* two newsletters per year and periodical ‘Occasional Papers’.

Our committee continues to meet regularly via Zoom. Having been forced to use Zoom during the pandemic, we find it is very convenient, and gives us more flexibility with the added benefit of saving time by eliminating the need to travel to meetings.

We held a very successful Annual General Meeting in May at Jane Austen’s House when our speaker was Lizzie Dunford, Director of the House. Lizzie gave us an illustrated talk about the conservation/replacement of the roof of the cottage. Her talk was absolutely fascinating and she explained how the removal of the roof was so important in providing a great deal of information about the history of the house and how it had evolved over the years. The materials for the new roof were very carefully chosen to be appropriate for the building and the fitters were all artisan craftspeople.

We tried to organize an event in July but unfortunately, the event we organized was not popular enough with members and had to be cancelled. We had avoided June due to the many Jubilee activities on offer, so our next event was not until August.

In August, on a glorious, sunny day about eight of us met up at the Guildhall in Winchester. We were joined by Geraldine Buchanan, one of our members who is a Winchester Guide. Geraldine took us around the city on a Jane Austen inspired walk that included some places not normally open to the public. Afterwards, we all enjoyed a cream tea in the Winchester Cathedral Refectory.

In October, we held our annual Discussion Event at Jane Austen’s House. There were a good number of us, very ably led by Elizabeth Proudman. Our topic, was ‘What happened next?’ Although there was some discussion referring to published sequels, for the majority of the lively discussion, we used our imaginations and discussed what we thought would happen next in the novels. It was great fun and we enjoyed each others’ interpretations of the situations within the various novels.

At the very end of November, we held ‘A Regency Christmas’ which took the form of a Regency Tea. It went very well and was enjoyed by everyone. Joy Pibworth and Helen Howe, two of our committee members, worked very hard to organize the afternoon. They made lots of authentic, delicious Regency cakes, including Twelfth Cake, and provided alcohol-free mulled punch to drink. Joy and Helen’s presentation included a bit of history, some readings and an excellent quiz to mull over while sampling these culinary delights.

Lesley Wilson

Kent Branch

Membership: 77 members. *Subscription:* £12 individual, £18 per household. *Publications:* three newsletters per annum and one periodical, *Austentations*.

In 2022 the Kent Branch held a mix of live and Zoom meetings. Our live meetings

were the AGM and Summer Event in June, the Winter Lunch Meeting, the annual Austen Ramble and the Annual Birthday Lecture. The Zoom meetings were committee meetings, a Craft Event and two Novel Views.

The AGM and Summer Event was held at Godmersham in June on a beautiful day when the gardens were at their best. Following the AGM our Patron Professor Jennie Batchelor treated us to a most interesting lecture on Susannah Sackree, beloved nursemaid of Edward Knight's children. In the afternoon members were able to view Susannah's grave at Godmersham Church, where we were pleased to hear that funds are being raised to restore the much eroded headstone. There were also opportunities to visit the Godmersham Heritage Centre, to hear Clare Graham's talk in the church, and to engage in a number of activities including contemporary outdoor games and strolling through the grounds while attempting to answer a quiz about homes and gardens in Jane Austen's novels.

The Winter Lunch Meeting was held at the Historic Dockyard in Chatham in the Namur Room, reminding us of Captain Charles Austen who served on HMS *Namur*. Appropriately, the morning lecture was 'Jane Austen and the Sea' given by Karin Fernald. Karin's talk was excellently researched, full of fascinating information, and abundantly illustrated by maps and contemporary prints.

The Annual Austen Ramble in August retraced the path of the first ramble ten years ago, starting at Godmersham Park. The walk followed Jane Austen's footsteps through the delightful Crundale Valley, taking in the hamlets of Eggarton and Chilham, where much of the 2009 BBC *Emma* was shot, and ended on the North Downs Way, where we were able to enjoy the same view of Godmersham as on the £10 banknote.

The Annual Birthday Lecture was held at Tonbridge Parish Church, where Jane Austen's father preached. The speaker was the ever popular Professor John Mullan, with a sparkling new talk, 'Love in Jane Austen's Novels'. As ever, John opened our eyes to appreciating the novels in a new way, and looking at them afresh.

Our third Craft Meeting was again held on Zoom in February, when eager stitchers met for an Embroidery Craft Event. Under Ellie Morris's expert guidance, they worked on a design devised by Ellie, combining Jane Austen's silhouette and signature. The craft events are intensely sociable and a lovely way of getting together and having a good chat while producing a creditable piece of work.

Two 'Novel Views' discussion meetings were held on Zoom. As with former discussions, it proved an excellent way of bringing together members from across Kent with those in the wider world. Hugh and Sheila Kindred have joined all our discussions from their home in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In April we discussed 'Merry Widows in Jane Austen's Novels', including not only jolly Mrs Jennings but all the Austen widows who are making the best of their lives. These necessarily included several not very pleasant widows, from dowager despots such as Lady Catherine de Bourgh and Mrs Ferrars to Mrs Norris, Mrs Clay and Lady Susan, all widows clearly on the make. Widowers also enjoy life, from Sir Walter Elliot to the cosseted Mr Woodhouse. Money makes all the difference. October's topic

was ‘What Makes You Laugh in Jane Austen’s Novels?’ when we were all able to hold forth on our favourite characters and their sayings. We also looked at how her novels might have been regarded in her time (was her treatment of upper-class characters subversive?) and how we see them now. Her wonderful irony is always tempered with humanity.

Three issues of our newsletter appeared throughout the year, edited by Dianne Brick. As well as Branch news, Dianne also includes a fiendish quiz, information from galleries and auctions and profiles of committee members. The bumper twenty-second edition of *Austentations*, edited by Paul Morris, was fully illustrated and featured contributions from Branch members. Vivian’s Twitter feed, ‘Jane Austen’s Zest’, was visited 1,815 times throughout the year.

Covid has made many changes; we decided we wanted to know more about our members, and find out whether the Branch is meeting their needs and preferences. In the autumn we sent out a Members’ Survey, asking why people joined in the first place, what they thought of our programme of events and speakers, what they most liked about the Branch and any changes they wished to make. The replies, from about a third of our members, were happily very favourable! Members most liked meeting pleasant, like-minded people in interesting and beautiful surroundings, the warm and friendly inclusive atmosphere at our meetings, the variety and quality of the programme, and being kept in touch through our publications, and Vivian’s regular online updates of all things Austen. The only adverse comment was that we can be a bit high-minded and serious. We must try to lighten up in future . . .

So altogether, a full and enjoyable year for the Kent Branch.

Jill Webster

London Branch

Members: 105. *Subscription:* £10. *Cost of events:* £7 members, £10 guests, to include tea and cakes. *Publications:* two newsletters per year.

The London Branch meets at St Columba’s Church of Scotland, Pont Street, Knightsbridge and offers a range of talks on a whole day or half-day basis throughout the winter and spring. It also runs a one-day walking tour and a residential event, courtesy of our committee member and Blue Badge Guide, Sara Hebblethwaite. The Committee comprises eight people, many of whom have been active for well over twenty years.

In January 2022 Dr Georgina Newton spoke about Jane Austen and Christmas. Illustrating her talk with many images on a Powerpoint presentation, she drew out the differences between a Regency Christmas and the Dickensian construct we all recognise today.

In March we had a very interesting talk on ‘The Abbey School, Reading’, by Joy Pibworth, a guide in the area. This was a topic about which we knew little and the speaker was very informative and enjoyable.

Our speaker after the morning AGM in April was indisposed and this necessitated a scramble at short notice to find a substitute. We are indebted to David Richardson’s generosity and great-heartedness on these occasions. He has a

cache of top notch talks which he quickly and efficiently provides, and members of the Committee step up to deliver. We are increasingly subject to the odd failure of a speaker to attend at short notice and are very grateful for any resources we can store at our venue to mitigate this situation and provide us with back up. Our afternoon speaker was Patrick Wildgust of Shandy Hall, on ‘Sermons and Sermonising’. This was a long awaited visit as Patrick had had to cancel twice but this time he sailed down effortlessly from York. Ironically, the committee and members found getting into London very difficult that day, with a combination of tube lines being down, road closures and finally Extinction Rebellion protesting very near the venue and spilling from Hyde Park. The attendance was good despite these problems.

In October we had a speaker drop out just before the all-day event and David Richardson came to our rescue again. Our other two speakers turned up and we listened to Dr Barbara White on Fanny Murray, a very successful courtesan. At the tender age of twelve, Fanny became the mistress of John Spencer, the late Princess of Wales’ six times great-grandfather, before being passed onto to Beau Brummel only two years later. These shocking facts drew analogies with modern day iniquities, but Fanny was an astute business woman who managed to secure an annuity from the Spencer family which kept her in retirement from her mid-twenties. Knowing that she was dying while only in her forties, she managed to secure the annuity for her father, who survived her. This subject prompted much lively debate and interest among our membership, who are always keen to pose questions.

Our Patricia Clarke Memorial Lecture was given by Dr Freya Johnson of Oxford University, who celebrated the extraordinary and exciting life of our late Chairman by drawing some comparisons with Austen’s life and work. This proved a highly personalised presentation for the London Branch.

The year ended with our annual Birthday Lunch at the delightful venue of the Women’s University Club in Mayfair. We are always strongly supported by our Patron, Professor John Mullan, at this event and he was our after-lunch speaker.

As well as the events at St Columba’s, a walking tour of relevant areas of London was run by Sara including a private tour of Dr Johnson’s House in the city. Sara also organised a three-day event with Lyme Regis as the base. The group’s visit to the Cobb was delayed for a day by filming for *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, but they were undaunted and still fitted it in to their schedule.

This has been another successful year for the London Branch. As always our hard-working, long-serving committee welcomes new blood and we were delighted with the addition of a new member to the cohort last year.

Hellen Blackwell

Midlands Branch

Members: 50. Subscription: £15, £12 concession. Publications: four newsletters per year and one Transactions.

During 2022, the Jane Austen Society Midlands saw a modest return to some sort of normality, although the Branch continues to evolve, like everything else in the

UK and elsewhere.

The committee met nine times on Zoom, which saved time and money and with a change to evening meetings, still on Zoom, we hope that joining the committee will be more attractive to those who are still employed.

The AGM was held in March, with eighteen members and one guest attending.

At our Study Day, we welcomed Rob Eliot back. Rob brought a fantastic collection of mid-eighteenth century military uniforms, and paraphernalia, including weapons. Having told us on another occasion about the life and equipment of a common soldier of the time, these splendid artefacts appeared superior by comparison. Peter Hopkins of the Jane Austen Society, a former English teacher who often joins our meetings, gave a talk on *Sense and Sensibility*. Finally, committee member and Litchfield Guide Lynne Ingram gave an illustrated presentation on Henry Salt of Lichfield, 1780-1829. Often eclipsed by another son of Lichfield, Samuel Johnson, he was a highly respected Egyptologist.

For our October Study Day, we met again at Aston by Stone Village Hall. After some anxieties over finding 'face to face' speakers, we had an excellent day. Lynda Turner posed the question 'Would Jane Austen have made a good detective?' Having presented the case, there was some lively discussion. We were delighted to welcome Bill Hutchings back. Bill has his own style and led us gently through an exploration of 'Jane Austen's Quiet Art'. This prompted many questions and contributions from members. Finally Marilyn Joice presented 'Fanny and Emma – Two disparate heroines'.

On 4 December, nineteen members and guests met for lunch. It was an intimate affair held in the Betley Tea Room at Betley Court Farm, near Newcastle-under-Lyme. Betley Court immediately next door dates from the mid-eighteenth century. The Farm House and Court are Georgian, so we were in the correct era.

Things have changed so much over the last few years and not just because of Covid. Membership is holding steady at around fifty; however, attendance at meetings is about fifty percent at best. Our 'Midlands' appellation has always been rather vague and since the group was founded over thirty years ago it has become even more diverse geographically. Many of us are less mobile and transport is expensive. There are problems finding venues to host small events in the sorts of places we prefer, but happily, we do have some younger members to share the organisation now.

Jennifer Walton

Northern Branch

Members: 154. *Subscription:* £7.00 per head or £10.00 for two members at one address. *Publications:* three copies of *Impressions* per year.

Our 2022 calendar opened in February with a well-attended Zoom lecture given by Professor Fiona Stafford. 'Jane Austen – Power and Politeness' looked at the relationship between power (both financial and emotional) and dependency and how characters used this power – often to be rude to those subject to that power.

The April Study Day – led by our patron, Dr Bill Hutchings – was based on *Sense & Sensibility* and considered how Austen used set-piece scenes in her novels to illustrate character as well as creating drama. We also looked at how legitimate and useful the terms ‘comedy’ and ‘tragedy’ might be as a description of contrasting elements of the novel. Attendees split into three study groups for each of the two sessions and lively discussions generated a wide selection of comments at the plenary sessions.

The Northern Study Day, a joint venture with the Scottish Branch, took place at the County Hotel in Newcastle on Saturday 28 May. The theme was ‘Newcastle – a Place Quite Northward’. Many of the delegates stayed overnight on the Friday and we had a most enjoyable evening with an Austen quiz, an excellent meal, a short talk from Sharron Bassett and a group discussion of ‘what Jane Austen means to me’. The study day on Saturday gave us two lectures in the morning and two in the afternoon. Our speakers in the morning were Dr Katie Halsey and Marilyn Joice, with Dr Richard Pears and Professor Richard Cronin after lunch.

Our summer outing in July was to Richmond in North Yorkshire, where we started the day with a tour of the town hall, after which we walked through the town to its famous Theatre Royal, a tiny gem which has a fascinating history. In the afternoon, Alan Thwaite, a loyal and long-time member of the Branch, led a guided tour of the town. This was so popular with our members that a second group was put together, and a copy of Alan’s impeccably researched notes provided to enable everyone to enjoy the walk.

In September we held a social afternoon and tea. Tables for four were set out around the room and a wide selection of board and card games made available – some typically Regency such as whist and Snakes and Ladders which would have been known to Jane Austen, and some which had been ‘Austenised’, for example, Scrabble with an Austen theme.

On 5 November we held our AGM at Clements Hall in York when, despite a train strike that forced several members to withdraw from the event, a well-attended business meeting was followed by The Irene Collins Memorial Lecture, delivered by Dr Gillian Dow of Southampton University. This was ‘Jane Austen Among Rogues: Nineteenth Century Publishers Marketing the Novel’. Jane famously wrote of her publisher, John Murray II, that he was, ‘a Rogue of course, but a civil one’. Other publishers were also ‘jostling for their slice of literary pie’ at this time, and in an illustrated and extremely well-received lecture, Gillian Dow set out to introduce us to some of Austen’s contemporaries.

Julia Taylor

Scottish Branch

Members: 72. *Subscription:* £20 individual, £25 couples. *Publications:* two newsletters per year.

The Scottish Branch enjoyed another successful year, despite the cost of the venue and catering having gone up alarmingly. The numbers attending our meetings have dropped slightly from what they were before the Covid pandemic. There are

several different reasons for this and the committee is trying hard to address those we can.

Our AGM for 2022 was held on 27 February. Despite two resignations from the committee, we were able to fill all the vacancies as well as co-opt two extra members. Andreena MacDonald is our new chairman. Dr Katie Halsey, from the University of Stirling, gave a talk which was successfully live-streamed to a wider audience. The topic of her talk was 'Jane Austen's Bookshelf' which showed how widely Jane Austen had read.

On 12 March, Dr Hilary Aitken gave us an interesting talk on 'Readers and Reading in Jane Austen'. Her talk complemented Katie Halsey's, but did not duplicate it. Hilary made us aware of the frequency and the relevance of the reading habits of the characters in the novels.

After a couple of postponements, on 15 May Professor Richard Jenkyns visited the Branch and gave us (as well as our online friends) a fascinating insight into 'Jane Austen and Music' in the eighteenth century. Richard and two family members were entertained to lunch beforehand by the committee and his talk was followed by afternoon tea.

The first combined Northern Study Day was held in Newcastle on Saturday, 28 May. There were four excellent talks during the day – Dr Katie Halsey on 'Northern Connections', Marilyn Joice on 'Jane Austen's Literary Fingerprint', Dr Richard Pears on 'Newcastle in Jane Austen's Time' and Professor Richard Cronin on 'Jane Austen in the Library'. The meeting was well attended and much enjoyed by all members. We look forward to another combined study day in the future.

The annual Nora Bartlett Memorial Lecture was given on 9 October by Professor Jane Stabler from the University of St Andrews. Her topic was 'Jane Austen: Exits and Entrances' and described the importance of the way the different characters enter or leave rooms. This talk was also live-streamed to our friends outwith Scotland.

The final meeting of the year was the Jane Austen Birthday Lunch on 10 December. During lunch we had fun collaborating over a quiz prepared by one of our committee members. After lunch, Branch members David and Morag Gibson, entertained us with a presentation entitled 'Six proposals and four weddings from *Pride and Prejudice*'. This light-hearted look at love and marriage in the novel proved to be great fun, as was the challenge they set to our members to write and perform proposals in the style of Jane Austen. The results were varied, but all were very amusing in content and performance.

The bookstall has been reincarnated, with considerable success. Members have been bringing the books that they no longer want and it is proving to be a useful way of raising some extra funds.

Although we still regard the 'Students of a Jane Austen Persuasion' as an affiliated group, we seem to have lost touch with them. We plan to again have one meeting each year in Glasgow and hope that this will encourage the students to come along. They have a Facebook page and appear to be active.

Marlene Lloyd-Evans

Southern Circle Group

Members: 15. *Subscription:* £5. *Publication:* newsletter, two single sheets per year.

The Southern Circle met three times during 2022 and all of our meetings were on Zoom. Our first meeting was in March and we discussed ‘What happened next?’ where we created future lives for some of Austen’s characters. We’ve used this topic before with much success and enjoyment.

In May, we had a lively chat about ‘parents’, with broad agreement on who the good and bad parents are and the fact that Austen seems to present the majority of parents as less than ideal. Honourable exceptions were felt to be Catherine Morland’s parents and the Gardiners, though we recognised that it is important not to judge characters, such as the Bennets, through a modern lens.

A select group of four found plenty to discuss when we met in October to talk about ‘Siblings’. We focused on those in *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*. The similarities and differences between siblings were considered: one of our number made a very interesting observation that the relationship between Jane and Elizabeth is mirrored by that of Kitty and Lydia, with each pairing including a more malleable element (the elder sibling) and a more dynamic one, leaving Mary in the unenviable place of middle child. Siblings were felt to be one of the central themes of *Mansfield Park*, with its opening lines discussing the Misses Ward, and the difference between the close camaraderie of the Crawfords and Mrs Grant and the figurative distance between the four Bertrams. Finally, we discussed the close and warm relationship between George and John Knightley, which demonstrated their shared values and interests and mutual respect, and wondered if Jane Austen’s own close-knit family provided useful source material for depicting the brothers. We agreed that they present a positive picture, in contrast to the many other examples of less than perfect sibling relationships.

Fiona Ainsworth

South West Branch

Members: 67. *Subscription* £10. *Cost of all-day events:* two talks, coffee and biscuits and buffet lunch – £20 members (£24 non-members); without lunch £12 (£13 non-members). *Publication:* *Pleasant Intelligence* at least twice a year.

Our branch never embraced Zoom meetings, probably due to factors like poor broadband connections and lack of knowledge. We had a full in-person programme lined up for 2022, but cancelled the January event owing to the many uncertainties, so our first face to face event for over two years was held on 12 March, at our much-loved venue of Southernhay Hall in Exeter. It was wonderful to see familiar faces and welcome new members. Our first speaker was David Richardson, who has now moved to our area. His talk was ‘The Father of the Bride’, in which he ranked the six fathers of the six brides, with number six being, of course, Mr Woodhouse in *Emma*, who casts a long shadow over the story even when not present.

Professor Peter Sabor, all the way from Canada, gave the afternoon talk, which was originally planned for March 2020. Peter attended our event in January 2020,

saying as he left ‘See you in March’, but we never imagined it would be two years later. It was worth the wait, and we were treated to his ‘Responses to *Emma* in 1816: Reviewers, Readers and “Opinions”’, a fascinating analysis of the reaction to the novel of various people, both published and unpublished.

Our next event was on 18 June 2022, and the first speaker was Professor Kathryn Sutherland on ‘More than words: the other lives of manuscripts’. For over an hour, we were transfixed by an illustrated presentation on how Jane Austen wrote her manuscripts, which original documents still exist, and the information that can be gained from them through forensic analysis. Our next speaker should have been Julianne Gehrre from the US, but she had broken her leg. Instead, Hazel Jones stepped in with a recently created talk “‘A likeness pleases every body’: Austen family portraiture’ on the portraits that Jane Austen is likely to have seen. It was a magnificent presentation, underpinned by a great deal of research, and we were shown examples of silhouettes, miniatures and larger portraits of many of the Austen family, done by amateur and minor artists, as well as celebrity painters.

The final event for 2022 was on 5 November, and it began with our very first AGM for a long time, followed by Professor Richard Cronin’s ‘Reading Jane Austen and Jane Austen Reading’. The key question posed was: ‘How did she get to be so good?’ No visual aids were used, only words, and everyone was enthralled – a real treat. The afternoon session was a talk on ‘Jane Austen and London’ by the talented actor Angela Barlow, who described many aspects of London in Jane’s life and novels, while highlighting locations on a contemporary map. Angela also performed various roles, the most memorable being Marianne’s collapse following Willoughby’s coldness towards her at the ball.

Normally, two editions of our magazine *Pleasant Intelligence* are produced, which most members receive by email, with a few printed for non-emailers. This reduces costs, allowing us to produce four editions in 2022 so as to keep members informed and entertained. Topics included first-day covers, Alan Cecil Tarbat (writing in 1947 about Lyme Regis and ‘Miss Austen—England’s dear, incomparable Jane!’), *Lovers’ Vows* at Mansfield Park, a report on the JAS conference at Weymouth and a regular feature on Desert Island books. Hazel Jones also contributed a report on JASNA’S AGM in Victoria, British Columbia, where she had given a presentation that was so apt for our branch – “‘Within four miles northward of Exeter”: Landscapes of the Mind and Map in *Sense and Sensibility*.’

Lesley Adkins

Elizabeth Inchbald's 1814 Diary

Azar Hussain

All serious students of Austen remember that the play chosen for performance in *Mansfield Park* is *Lovers' Vows*, a play adapted from the original of August Kotzebue (1761–1819) by Elizabeth Inchbald (1753–1821).¹ Although the occasional article has appeared about Inchbald in the literature on Austen, the full significance of her contribution to English literature is not often acknowledged. Below is a brief synopsis of Inchbald's career followed by an examination of her diary of 1814 which records her activities in the year in which *Mansfield Park* was first advertised on the 9 May and in which, according to Cassandra Austen's note, Jane Austen was occupied in writing *Emma* from 21 January onwards.² Inchbald's diary reveals a number of significant points that relate to Austen and her contemporaries and provides insight into the life of a neglected author as well as a window on mid-Regency London.

Elizabeth Simpson was born on the 15 October 1753 in Stanningfield, near Bury St Edmunds. Her family were Roman Catholic and her faith would play an important part in her life. Inchbald was clearly a determined and independent-minded woman, as her life would show. At just eighteen, she set off for London in April 1772, determined to be an actress despite the considerable, some might even say insurmountable, drawback of a stammer. She would also have to navigate the many pitfalls facing a young, unmarried woman newly arrived in the capital. Shortly after her arrival she married an actor, Joseph Inchbald (1735–1779), perhaps more for her protection than out of any romantic attachment, and she made her debut on the stage in Bristol on the 4 September 1772. A long period of touring began until the 3 October 1780, when she made her London debut at Covent Garden, now a widow, her husband having died on the 6 June 1779. Although she never achieved a superlative reputation, Inchbald remained at Covent Garden for nine years, her acting career ending in 1789 after seventeen years on the stage.

However, in parallel with this, Inchbald had begun to submit her own plays in 1781 and although they were initially rejected, her first play, *The Mogul Tale*, was performed on the 6 July 1784. She would go on to write over twenty plays, with many, including *Lovers' Vows* (1798), being highly successful. Her career as a playwright spanned more than twenty years with her last play, *To Marry or Not to Marry*, being performed in 1805. Inchbald was also a gifted novelist publishing two novels in the 1790s, *A Simple Story* (1791) and *Nature and Art* (1796) both of which received critical acclaim.³ Lord Byron wrote in December 1813,

Talking of vanity—whose praise do I prefer? Why, Mrs Inchbald's, and that of the Americans. The first, because her "Simple Story" and "Nature and Art", are, to me, *true* to their *titles*; and consequently, her short note to Rogers about the "Giaour" delighted me more than any thing, except the Edinburgh Review.⁴

Another significant reference dates from the 1820s when Walter Scott's wife sent a short undated note to a circulating library stating,

Lady Scott will thank Mr Chambers to send her by the Carrier three [those?] of the novels she has marked—The Simple Story by Mrs Inchbald, Nature and Art by Ditto, Juvenile Indiscretions [by Mrs A. M. Bennet], Says She to her neighbour, What? [by Mrs Hofland], Belinda [by Maria Edgeworth], Matrimony by Mrs Meeke, Octavia by Miss Porter, The Spinster's Tale [by Ann Wingrove]. If none of these are at home any of Mrs Opie[s] or Miss Burneys works will do.⁵

Although there is no direct evidence that Austen read Inchbald's novels, Paula Byrne has made a case for their influence on Austen's own work.⁶

As well as seeing the performance of her last play, 1805 saw Inchbald, who turned fifty-two that year, embark on a new career as a drama critic. In 1806 she began a project that would occupy her until well into 1808. She wrote critical prefaces for what turned out to be one hundred and twenty-five plays which were bound into twenty-five volumes that were published in 1808 as *The British Theatre*. It was widely acclaimed and became so well known that Ben Robertson has stated that it alone would have made Inchbald famous even if she had not written plays or novels.⁷ Two more compilations followed, *Collection of Farces and Afterpieces* (1809) in seven volumes and *The Modern Theatre* (1811) in ten volumes. Despite her modern-day neglect, Inchbald was a key figure in literary London. She knew everyone and was known to everyone. She had an important forty-five-year friendship with actress Sarah Siddons (1755–1831) at the same time nursing a passion for her brother John Philip Kemble (1757–1823) whom she first met in 1777. Known for her wit, grace and striking good looks, she received a number of proposals, including from the author Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809) and philosopher William Godwin (1756–1836) yet she remained a widow, perhaps valuing her independence too highly.

How Austen came to be acquainted with *Lovers' Vows* has been asked a number of times, but the reverse question is also worth asking, that is, did Inchbald ever read *Mansfield Park* or was she ever made aware of Austen's use of her play in the novel? Inchbald appears to have kept a diary for most of her life with fifty-two volumes running from 1770–1821. Her first biographer, James Boaden (1762–1839), made extensive use of them in his two-volume *Memoirs of Mrs Inchbald* (1833). However, the diaries and a number of her letters, were subsequently dispersed and frustratingly only eleven years from a range of decades now survive.⁸ Fortunately, the volume from 1814 is available and although Inchbald makes no reference to Austen or *Mansfield Park* the diary deserves our attention.

Inchbald turned sixty-one in 1814. At this point in her life, she was living a relatively quiet life and had stopped writing. Her large editing projects such as her work on *The British Theatre* were behind her and for this reason, her entries tend to be on more mundane and domestic activities. Nonetheless, despite this partial withdrawal, it is clear that Inchbald continued to have a keen interest in literature

and the wider world around her. Her diary shows that she spent much of her time reading, indeed all her surviving diaries demonstrate that throughout her life, Inchbald was a voracious reader, bent upon self-improvement. Her diary of 1820 records that despite failing health and trouble with her eyes, she was reading Byron and Dante in her last year. Her 1814 diary suggests that she read almost every day, but most entries simply state ‘read’ and frustratingly provide no detail as to her actual reading matter.⁹ We know that a fair amount of the material was religious, as she spent much of the year immersed in the *Lives of the Saints* by Alban Butler (1709–1773). She mentions receiving ‘six volumes’ on the 22 April and she began reading them on the 8 May. She continued her reading over the course of the year, finishing on the 22 December. Inchbald can be vague about her other devotional reading, simply stating on the 1 May that she is reading ‘holy books’ and on the 29 October ‘Pious books’. On the 10 and 26 February she records that she is reading the Bible.



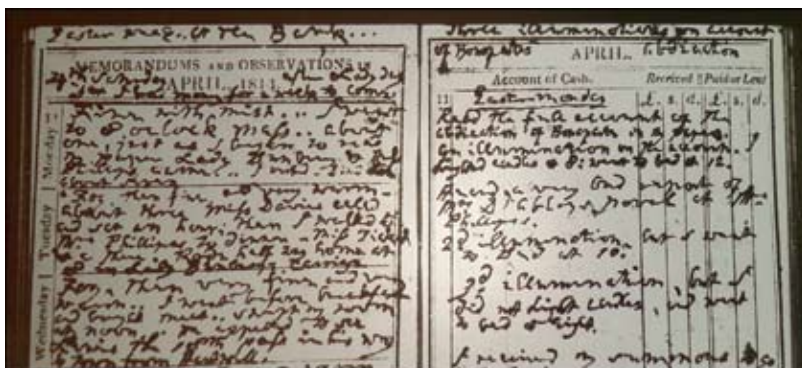
Elizabeth Inchbald (née Simpson) by George Dance.

*Pencil, 1794. NPG 1144. © National Portrait Gallery, London. Inchbald turned forty-one in 1794, four years before she wrote *Lovers' Vows*. She had retired from the stage in 1789, but this portrait captures her still striking appearance.*

Inchbald also notes that she was read to by Miss Beale, her landlady's daughter, who turned fourteen on the 15 March and who spent much time with her. Inchbald often records Miss Beale dining with her and she was somewhat regarded as her protégée.¹⁰ Inchbald's entry for the 7 January states that ‘Miss Beale read to me while I dined’ and on the 7 March, it seems Miss Beale read the newspaper out loud. Sometimes however, Inchbald was more specific noting on the 11 January, ‘Miss Beale read *Rasselas* to me while I dined’. It seems their reading went on

slowly or was interrupted as Inchbald does not record completing it until the 25 March and she notes copying from it on the 24 April. Inchbald also records on the 15 December that Miss Beale ‘read old magazines to me in the Evening’.

During January to April there are a number of significant entries relating to a recently published novel, *Patronage* by Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849). Not only does Inchbald record reading it, she critiqued it at the author’s request. Inchbald had met Edgeworth in May 1813 and on the 19 December that year Edgeworth wrote to her to say that she had asked her publisher to send *Patronage* to her before publication which was late in 1813, with 1814 appearing on the title page. Inchbald’s tone and the following dates suggest that she might have carried out this task with a degree of unwillingness, as on the 10 January she records, ‘A Parcel came which I, supposed Miss Edgeworth’s [sic] new work, and did not open’. She mentions Edgeworth again on the 16 January and the following day notes, ‘I began to read Miss Edgeworth’s “Patronage”’. She completed it on the 3 February and wrote to Edgeworth on the 8 February. On the 14 February, Edgeworth sent a long letter noting Inchbald’s comments and offering defences.¹¹ Inchbald received this on the 19 February and the following day, ‘I wrote to Miss Edgeworth’s Bookseller, by her desire, some corrections for her 2^d Edition of Patronage’ before writing Edgeworth ‘a long letter’ on the 1 March, finishing it on the 15 March. She also noted on the 19 April, ‘I sent “Patronage” to M^{rs} Phillips by her son Edward’. Edgeworth’s response to Inchbald indicates her high regard for her opinion and this was by no means a one-off occurrence. In 1817, Edgeworth, and indeed her father, who was seriously ill at the time, would write to Inchbald asking again for her opinion on her *Comic Drama*.¹² Edgeworth was not alone in seeking Inchbald’s advice. On the 13 May, Inchbald records, ‘A Young man Left me a Manuscript Drama to read’. Her reputation as actress, playwright and critic made her a natural choice for would-be authors, and she records reading the young man’s work the next day.



Detail of Inchbald’s diary entries of 11–13 April 1814. Tuesday 12 April notes that Inchbald heard ‘a very bad report’ of Frances Burney’s novel, *The Wanderer*. This concludes the entry for the day and, like a number of other entries, has spilled over onto the recto. Image taken by the author.

Patronage was not the only novel published in 1814 to be mentioned in the diary. On the 12 April Inchbald noted that she ‘Heard a very bad report of M^{rs}. D^r Ableys [sic] novel at M^{rs}. Phillips’ this being Frances Burney’s *The Wanderer*, which was indeed published on 28 March to generally poor reviews. This was not Inchbald’s only connection with Frances Burney. The previous surviving diary to that of 1814 was 1808, and Inchbald’s entry for the week 28 March – 3 April of that year reads, ‘M^r. Robinson sent me Miss Burney’s M.S and I began it’. This was probably a reference not to Frances but to her younger half-sister Sarah Harriet Burney (1772–1844) and her epistolary novel *Geraldine Fauconberg* which was published in 1808. Inchbald subsequently noted on the 30 March, ‘At Dusk Young Robinson came from his father with a manuscript of Miss Burney’s for my opinion—returned it’ and on the 2 April she recorded that ‘M^r. Robinson sent back Miss Burney’s M.S.’ which she read on the 6 April, when she wrote ‘Finished reading Miss Burney’s manuscript & wrote my opinion of it to M^r Robinson’. We know that Sarah Harriet owned copies of Austen’s novels and praised her work highly in her letters¹³ although unfortunately the only known reference Austen made to Sarah Harriet’s work is a rather unflattering remark about her 1796 novel *Clarentine* from 8-9 February 1807: ‘We are reading *Clarentine*, & are surprised to find how foolish it is. I remember liking it much less on a 2^d reading than at the 1st & it does not bear a 3^d at all. It is full of unnatural conduct & forced difficulties, without striking merit of any kind.’¹⁴

Elaine Bander notes that by August 1814 Austen had probably read *The Wanderer* and *Patronage* both of which contain scenes of amateur theatricals similar to those in *Mansfield Park*.¹⁵ Indeed, Austen herself mentions *Patronage*, stating in a letter to Cassandra of the 23–24 August, ‘It was one of my vanities, like your not reading *Patronage*’.¹⁶ Austen had also referred to *The Wanderer* the previous year when in a letter of the 23–24 September 1813 she stated, ‘Poor D^r Isham is obliged to admire P.&P—& to send me word that he is sure he shall not like M^{de} Darblay’s new Novel half so well’.¹⁷

Both Burney and Edgeworth are of course mentioned by Austen in her famous defence of the novel in *Northanger Abbey* where she mentions *Cecilia*, *Camilla* and *Belinda*. Interestingly, Edgeworth mentions Inchbald by name in the advertisement to *Belinda*.¹⁸ This is worth quoting in full as Edgeworth here, ironically enough given Austen’s reference to the novel, refers to the work as a ‘moral tale’ rather than a novel and specifically mentions Inchbald, as well as Burney, among novelists who can be singled out as reputable guides:

Every author has a right to give what appellation he may think proper to his works. The public have also a right to accept or refuse the classification that is presented. The following work is offered to the public as a Moral Tale—the author not wishing to acknowledge a Novel. Were all novels like those of madame de Crousaz, Mrs Inchbald, miss Burney or Dr Moore, she would adopt the name of novel with delight: But so much folly, error, and vice are disseminated in books classed under this denomination, that it is hoped the wish to assume another title will be attributed to feelings that are laudable, and not fastidious.¹⁹

Aside from contemporary novels, the diary shows Inchbald's reading to have been eclectic. On the 15 March we find, 'I began to read the Life of Colonel Hutchinson in the evening'. Although written in the seventeenth century, this work was only published in 1806. It was an interesting choice of reading material, being an account of the Civil War from the Puritan point of view. Its author, Lucy Hutchinson (1620–1681), was an unusual woman for her time. Fluent in Latin, she had even translated Lucretius into English, but was also a devout Christian and a talented poet herself. Her regicide husband's life was saved due to her intervention and the work concludes with an account of her life written by herself. Inchbald mentions completing it on the 22 March. As with all her reading for this year, she makes no comment on it.

We also know that Inchbald was well-connected in the world of periodicals. The diary indicates that she read them and indeed we know that she wrote for them. Prior to 1814, she had contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* which she mentions reading on a number of occasions in 1814.²⁰ In 1809 she had been offered the editorship of *La Belle Assemblée* but declined, and earlier in 1808 John Murray had tried to persuade her to write for the *Quarterly Review*, but she had also refused. Nonetheless, a number of entries in the 1814 diary refer to her reading the *Quarterly Review*.²¹ If Inchbald was a regular reader she may have subsequently seen Walter Scott's famous review of Austen's novels which appeared in the March 1816 edition. It did not mention *Mansfield Park*, indeed, no contemporary reviews have been found, but it could have served as a trigger for Inchbald to seek out Austen's back list.²²

Inchbald was an avid reader of newspapers and her diary makes mention of various events in 1814, which can be usefully contrasted with Austen's own references to them. Inchbald's entries also highlight her radical sympathies, for example, she records on the 9 April that she has heard reports of Napoleon being taken prisoner, but the following entry expresses her relief that this was not the case. On the 24 April Inchbald records that she got into a dispute 'about Bonaparte's conduct'. This can be usefully contrasted to what Brian Southam has called 'the only Austen family reference to Napoleon to have come to light so far', Fanny Knight's diary entry from the 8 April where she wrote 'glorious news of Buonaparte vanquished and dethroned'.²³ Inchbald went on to record, perhaps mournfully, Napoleon's exile to Elba on the 19 May. On the 28 September she noted, 'Washington, the Capital of America, taken by our troops', this being a reference to the last phase of the war of 1812, which had begun in June 1812. In fact, the very circumstances of the declaration of war may have been what Tom Bertram had in mind in his face-saving remark, "'A strange business this in America, Dr Grant!'"²⁴ The war would have been a popular topic in 1814 with Austen herself also commenting on it, noting in a letter from the 2 September that she had discussed it with her brother Henry:

His veiw, & the veiw of those he mixes with, of Politics, is not chearful—with regard to an American war I mean;—they consider it as certain, & as what is to ruin us. The

[?Americans] cannot be conquered, & we shall only be teaching them the skill in War which they may now want. We are to make them good Sailors & Soldiers, & [?gain] nothing ourselves.

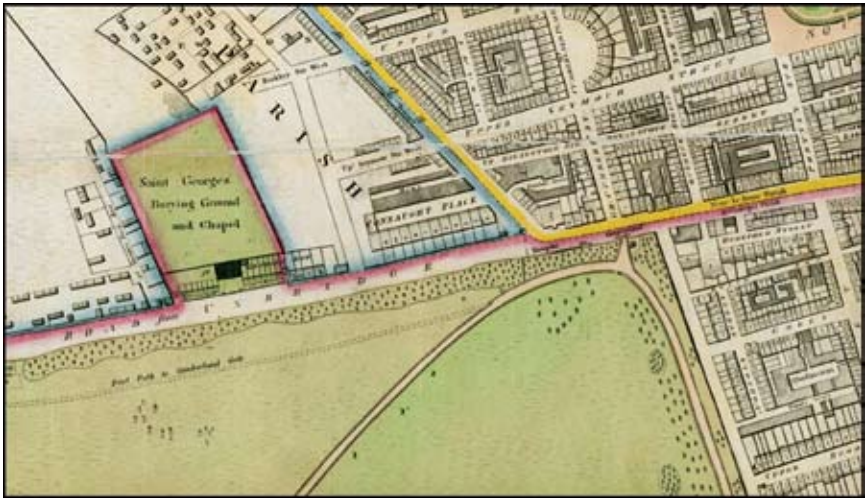
Inchbald certainly followed news of the war with close attention and like everyone else must have been relieved to note on the 27 December 'Peace with America announced in my newspaper'.

Inchbald became rather reclusive in her later years, but she mentions two events in her diary that are worth noting. The first is the allied sovereigns' visit to England which occurred in June 1814 to celebrate Napoleon's defeat, prematurely as it turned out. The visitors included Tsar Alexander of Russia, Frederick William III of Prussia, Prince Metternich, Field Marshall Blucher and Prince Hardenberg, Chancellor of Prussia. The visit attracted much attention, Alexander for instance, seems to have been treated like a modern-day celebrity.²⁵ His sister, Ekaterina Pavlovna, Grand Duchess of Oldenburg (1788–1819), had actually preceded her brother, arriving on the 31 March, and Inchbald notes that Miss Beale 'saw the Russian Princess' on the 4 April. Alexander and Frederick William arrived in London on the 7 June, a fact which Inchbald noted in her diary, stating, 'At half after four the cannon guns announced the arrival of the Emperor of Russia and king of Prussia in London' and that Miss Beale saw Alexander.

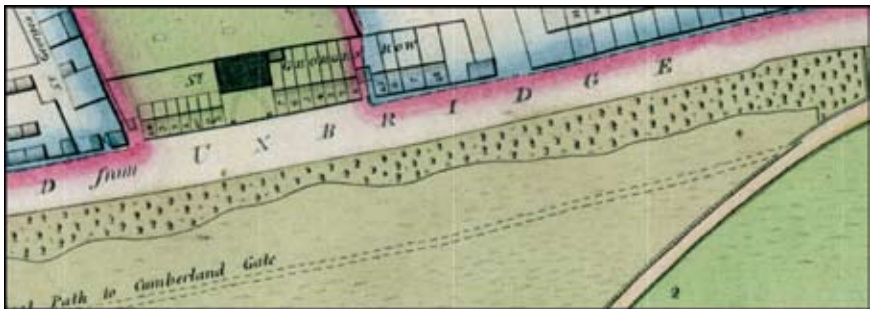
Alexander appears to have had a full schedule as on 8 June, he and his sister could be seen walking through Kensington Gardens, on the 9 June he was in Hyde Park in the morning and in the afternoon, he proceeded through the Strand and City to the London Docks before going to the Bank of England on the 11 June. On the 12 June Alexander and his sister visited Princess Charlotte at Warwick House, near Carlton House and Inchbald saw him either before or after, stating, 'The Emperor of Russia {&} King of Prussia Blucher &c in the Park before my window'.

News of Alexander's peregrinations clearly reached Austen in Chawton, since two days later, on 14 June, she wrote to Cassandra in London, 'Take care of yourself, & do not be trampled to death in running after the Emperor'.²⁶ From 14–15 June, Alexander was in Oxford as Inchbald noted. Similarly, she recorded his attendance at a dinner at the Guildhall on the 18 June. Alexander spent most of the 20 June viewing different ranks of the English military detachments marching in Hyde Park, with Inchbald noting that she had witnessed the spectacle from her window.

Fanny Knight, who was also in London on the same day, stated that she arrived at Henrietta Street 'in time to see the procession going to proclaim Peace'.²⁸ On the 21 June, Alexander and Frederick William attended 'White's fête'. This was a grand ball organized by the members of White's club and held at Burlington House, the residence of the Duke of Devonshire. Attendance numbered 2,400 and the event cost nearly £10,000.²⁹ Henry Austen attended, having somehow managed to secure a ticket, as noted by a suitably impressed Austen in her letter of 23 June.



Annibal Jenkins states that Inchbald lodged in St. George's Row.²⁷ The above shows a street of this name just above Hyde Park, below Saint George's Burying Ground and Chapel, which tallies with Inchbald's account of seeing the review held in Hyde Park on the 20 June through her window. Detail below. *Reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Matthew Sangster (www.romanticlondon.org).*



On the same day Inchbald recorded that Alexander and Frederick William had departed from London the day before. They made for Portsmouth, arriving there that evening. Alexander subsequently left Dover for Calais on the 27 June. Again, Austen was aware of this, stating in her letter of 14 June to Cassandra, 'The report in Alton yesterday was that they w^d certainly travel this road either to, or from Portsmouth' before concluding with the rather enigmatic statement, 'I long to know what this Bow of the Prince's will produce'. Austen was also aware of the arrangements in Portsmouth, as her brother Frank had told her that although he hoped to be with them on Monday 27 June, the naval review would take place on Friday 24 June. Austen wrote on the 23 June that this would 'probably occasion him some delay, as he cannot get some necessary business of his own attended to, while Portsmouth is in such a bustle'. Perhaps like many a modern-day commoner,

Austen was rather annoyed by all this disruption as she continued, 'I hope Fanny has seen the Emperor, & then I may fairly wish them all away'.

The second event worth mentioning occurred on the 1 September, when Inchbald 'Went to see West's 2^d Picture of our Saviour'. This was Benjamin West's *Christ Rejected* and readers of Austen's letters will recall that Austen also saw the painting. It is mentioned in her letter of the 2 September:

I have seen West's famous Painting, & prefer it to anything of the kind I ever saw before. I do not know that it is reckoned superior to his "Healing in the Temple", but it has gratified me much more, & indeed is the first representation of our Saviour which ever at all contented me. "His Rejection by the Elders", is the subject.

An advertisement in *The Times* on the 26 July announced the exhibition of the painting at 125 Pall Mall and we know that Austen arrived in London on 22 August and stayed at Henry's new home at 23 Hans Place, probably returning to Chawton shortly after the 2 September. Given that her letter of 2 September was written in the morning, there is a chance that Austen had seen the painting the day before and had maybe even been there at the same time as Inchbald. Similarly, earlier in the year when Inchbald was critiquing *Patronage* in March, Austen was in London staying at Henrietta Street, just a couple of miles away.

The summer of 1814 is also significant for another reason. Henry Austen's account of his sister's declining to attend a literary circle at which Madam de Staël would be present is well known.³⁰ By 1815, both de Staël and Austen were publishing with John Murray, but Henry's dating cannot be right as he attributes this non-event to around the summer of 1814, whereas de Staël had left England by this time. Henry might have been referring to the previous year when Austen was in London in September. This is significant for us, because only the previous month, in August 1813, Inchbald was also pushed into meeting de Staël, in her case by her friend Amelia Opie (1769–1853), the novelist.³¹ Unlike Austen, Inchbald allowed herself to be talked into the meeting and by her account, it appears to have gone well. Although de Staël quizzed her as to why she had removed herself from society, she seemed to have made a good impression, with Inchbald subsequently stating, 'I admired Madame de Staël much'.³² She also mentioned de Staël in a diary entry of the 3 April 1814.³³

Inchbald's 1814 diary can teach us much about Austen's time, but two key points are worth stressing. The first is just how tightly knit the community of female novelists were. We have seen how Maria Edgeworth sought Inchbald's advice and how Inchbald had previously critiqued the work of Sarah Harriet Burney. We also know that Sarah Harriet read *Patronage* and *Emma*³⁴ and Maria Edgeworth read *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*, the latter being sent to her by Austen herself.³⁵ Austen's own letters of 1814 refer to works by Jane West (1758–1852) and Mary Brunton (1778–1818) on 28 September and 24 November. All of this clearly indicates that Austen's peers knew each other's work and often knew each other personally, even if they didn't always get along (for example, Inchbald

disliked Mary Wollstonecraft and seems never to have forgiven William Godwin for marrying her). The spotlight is often on Austen, and rightly so, but it is worth remembering that Austen should not and cannot be read in isolation. Elizabeth Inchbald, Sarah Harriet and Frances Burney, Amelia Opie, Maria Edgeworth and many others all contribute and contextualise our appreciation of Austen.

Secondly, while there is no proof that Inchbald read *Mansfield Park*, or any of Austen's novels, or indeed, had even heard of her, her diary for 1814 does prove that she read a great deal and kept up to date with contemporary literature.³⁶ It is quite plausible that one of Inchbald's friends would have told her that the author of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*, both of which had been reprinted and advertised the previous October and been advertised again alongside *Mansfield Park* on 9 and 14 May 1814, had just published a new novel in which *Lovers' Vows* played an important part. Like any other author, Inchbald would have been keenly interested to know what use a fellow novelist had made of her work. Although no references to Austen have been discovered in any of Inchbald's surviving papers³⁷ it is tantalizing to think what might have been lost due to the dispersal of Inchbald's diaries and letters, and to think that when viewing Benjamin West's 'Christ Rejected', the two authors might even have walked right past each other just a few months after the publication of *Mansfield Park*.

Acknowledgements: I am very grateful to Dr John Avery Jones and Professor Ben P. Robertson for kindly reading and commenting on an early draft of this article. My thanks also to Mick Bright and Jo Strong.

Notes

1. Inchbald knew no German, but she made her version out of a prior, literal English translation. Christoph Bode 'Unfit for an English stage? Inchbald's *Lovers' Vows* and Kotzebue's *Das Kind der Liebe*'. *European Romantic Review*, 16.3 (2005), p.299.
2. Gilson, David. *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*. Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies (1997), pp.49, 66.
3. In Richard Bentley's Standard Novels series Inchbald's two novels appeared in one volume as No. 26 in March 1833, being flanked by *Emma* (No. 25, February 1833) and *Mansfield Park* (No. 27, April 1833).
4. Byron, George Gordon. *Byron's Letters and Journals: Volume 3 1813–1814*. Ed. Leslie A Marchand. London: John Murray (1974), p.236. Note that Austen also mentions *The Giaour* in *Persuasion*.
5. Scott, Walter. *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott 1831–1832 and Appendices of Early Letters*. New York: AMS (1971), p.95.
6. Byrne, Paula. *The Genius of Jane Austen: Her Love of Theatre and Why She Is a Hit in Hollywood*. London: William Collins (2017), pp.113–115, 170–171.
7. Robertson, Ben P. *Elizabeth Inchbald's Reputation: A Publishing and Reception History*. London: Routledge (2015), p.115.
8. These are 1776, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1788, 1793, 1807, 1808, 1814, 1820.

- For further details see Patricia Sigl 'The Elizabeth Inchbald Papers'. *Notes and Queries* 29:3 (1982) pp.220–224.
9. Inchbald, Elizabeth. *The Diaries of Elizabeth Inchbald*. Ed. Ben P. Robertson. London: Pickering & Chatto (2007). In three volumes, the diary of 1814 is in the third.
 10. See 8 January, 16 November, 3 December. Sadly, Miss Beale died two years later on 23 July 1816 of consumption, much to Inchbald's distress.
 11. Boaden, John. *Memoirs of Mrs Inchbald*. London: Richard Bentley (1833), Vol. II pp.194–198. An example of one of Inchbald's objections was Edgeworth's use of the word 'spittle'. Butler, Marilyn. *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1972), pp.297–298.
 12. *Ibid.* Vol II pp.208–214.
 13. Clark, Lorna J. 'Jane Austen and Sarah Harriet Burney'. *Persuasions* 17 (1995) p.22
 14. *Clarentine* (1796) was published anonymously, as was *Geraldine Fauconberg* (1808) but Sarah Harriet's third novel, *Traits of Nature* (1812), included her name and sold out within four months. Despite her anonymity, her identity was an open secret perhaps rather like Austen's.
 15. Bander, Elaine. 'Mansfield Park and the 1814 Novels: *Waverley*, *The Wanderer*, *Patronage*'. *Persuasions* 28 (2006), p.122
 16. Fanny Knight also knew the novel, writing at Bath on the 3 March 'A Letter from Edwd. I wrote a letter to him with "Patronage".' Le Faye, Deirdre. *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family, 1600–2000*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: CUP (2013), p.474.
 17. Janice Thaddeus explains this by stating that 'She [Burney] had shown it [*The Wanderer*] to no one, and this secrecy whetted the fury she felt when she learned that Longman had been sending around the first volume for reactions'. Thaddeus, Janice. *Frances Burney: A Literary Life*. Basingstoke: Macmillan (2000) p.156. Claire Harman also states 'by September 1813 most of literary London knew that Longman had "paid £3000" for the rights' and in fact goes on to quote Austen's letter of 23–24 September 1813 to support this. Harman, Claire. *Fanny Burney: A Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf (2001), p.302.
 18. Edgeworth, Maria. *Belinda*. Ed. Kathryn J. Kirkpatrick. Oxford: OUP (2008), p.3.
 19. Note that Frances Burney was also uneasy about using the term 'novel' Thaddeus, 132, 245n.23.
 20. See 28 and 29 April, 26, 29 December. In certain entries Inchbald simply refers to the 'review'. From the context it seems she is referring to the *Edinburgh Review* on these dates 26 April, 1 May. See also note 21.
 21. 7, 8 January, 12 January, 14, 17, 18 April, 3, 4, 5 September. In certain entries Inchbald simply refers to the 'review'. From the context it seems she is referring to the *Quarterly Review* on these dates (11 January, 21–23 April). See also note 20.
 22. Gilson lists a number of references to the novel in private correspondence of

- the time indicating that it was certainly read and discussed pp.49–50, see also p.xxviii. Austen herself notes that the first edition had sold out in her letter of 18–20 November 1814.
23. Southam, Brian. ‘Was Jane Austen a Bonapartist?’ *Jane Austen Society Collected Reports 1996–2000*. Chawton: JAS (2005) p.313. Southam’s article reviews the curious case of Austen copying out Byron’s 1815 poem *Napoleon’s Farewell*.
 24. Austen, Jane. *Mansfield Park*. Cambridge: CUP (2005), 140, 676 n.8.
 25. Kizilov, Mikhail. ‘Between Leipzig and Vienna: The Visit of Russian Emperor Alexander I to England in 1814 as Seen through the Eyes of Contemporaries’. Academia.edu. See also *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle From January to June 1814, Volume LXXXIV Part the First*. London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1814 p.612 onwards.
 26. Frances Burney enjoyed a rather more civilized arrangement as she was invited to a reception at St James’ to see the Emperor. Chisholm, Kate. *Fanny Burney: Her Life 1752–1840*. London: Chatto & Windus (1998), p.237.
 27. Jenkins, Annibel. *I’ll Tell You What: The Life of Elizabeth Inchbald*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press (2003), p.494.
 28. Le Faye, *Chronology* p.483.
 29. Colson, Percy. *White’s: 1693–1950*. London: William Heinemann Ltd (1951), pp.68–9. Lejeune, Anthony. *White’s: The First Three Hundred Years*. London: A & C Black (1993), p.96. Bourke, Algernon. *The History of White’s*. London: Algernon Bourke (1892), p.186.
 30. Austen, Henry. ‘Memoir of Miss Austen’. *A Memoir of Jane Austen and Other Family Recollections*. Ed. Kathryn Sutherland. Oxford: OUP (2002), pp.149–150.
 31. Opie also visited Inchbald on 30 July 1814.
 32. Boaden, Vol.II pp.190–191.
 33. Frances Burney also avoided seeing de Staël in the summer of 1813, with better success. Burney, Frances. *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D’Arblay): Volume VII 1812–1814*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1978), p.170.
 34. Clark, Lorna J. ‘Women and Publishers: A Tale of Two Burneys’. *Publishing History* 81 (2019), p.28.
 35. Gilson, *Bibliography*. pp.50, 71. Admittedly, Edgeworth does not seem to have thought highly of *Emma*.
 36. It is worth noting that there are no references to Scott in the 1814 diary, but it is almost impossible to believe that Inchbald was not aware of *Waverley*. Entries in June in the 1808 diary indicate that she read, or possibly reread, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* this year.
 37. Private communication from Professor Ben P. Robertson, 28 June 2022.

The Austens at St John's, Oxford

Michael Riordan

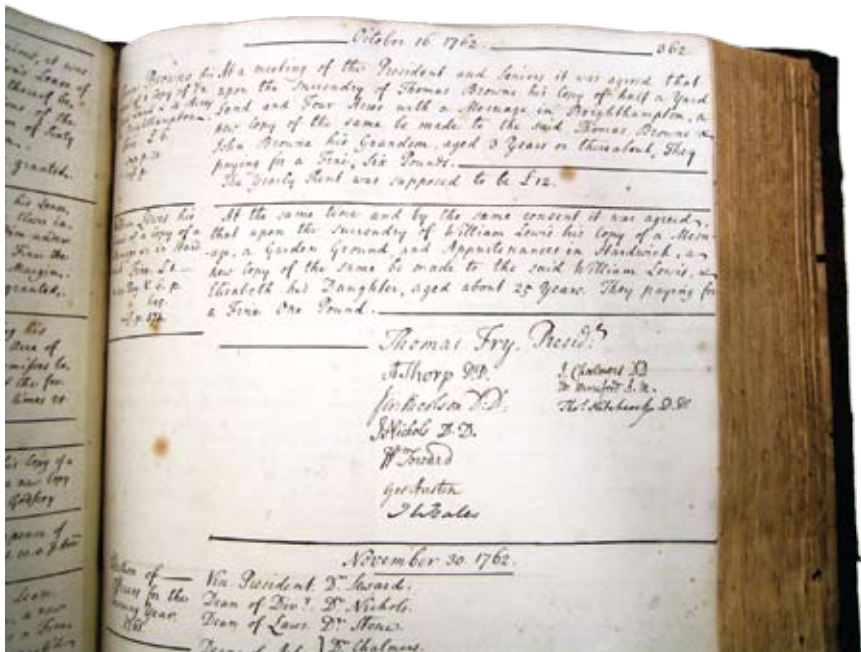
Jane Austen's education at Oxford was short. She spent just six months at the age of seven at a school run by the widow of the principal of Brasenose. But other members of her family spent much more time in Oxford, most significantly at St John's where her father, George, and her brothers, James and Henry, were all fellows.

In 1746 the College living of Charlbury became vacant, James Luck having decided to resign. As was the custom, the position of vicar was offered in turn to members of the fellowship, and the luck on this occasion was all George Austen's. According to the College's statutes, written by the Founder, Sir Thomas White almost two hundred years earlier, one of the fifty fellowships of St John's was to be reserved for a pupil at Tonbridge School. James Luck had been the Tonbridge fellow since 1720 and his resignation came at just the right time for young George Austen who was then at the top of the school.

George arrived in Oxford in the summer of 1747, aged just sixteen, and a fellow of St John's College. Until the statutes were rewritten by the Victorians, St John's was unusual in its fellowship. There were fifty fellows, most from designated schools: thirty from the Merchant Taylors' School, two each from schools in Reading, Coventry and Bristol, and one from Tonbridge. The remaining six were reserved for Founder's Kin, that is, men who could demonstrate that they were descended from one of Sir Thomas White's grandfathers. They were fellows from the minute they set foot in St John's, even though they were undergraduates for their first three years. The College was governed not by all fifty fellows, but just the President and Ten Seniors – the ten fellows who had been longest in post. It took George eleven years to become one of the Seniors.

The College was a very different place in 1747 to now. Today we are used to the idea that the fellows are the tutors, teaching undergraduate and graduate students. However, until the late nineteenth century, the main purpose of the College was the education of the fellows, with the older fellows teaching the younger ones, as well as commoners, who were undergraduates and who paid for their education. Although a few fellows studied Civil Law, most were expected to study theology and be ordained in the Church of England; indeed, if a fellow was not ordained within ten years of entering the College, he would be expelled. It was normal for them to take the BA and then the MA, followed by Bachelor and then Doctor of Divinity (BD and DD). To work through all four degrees usually took twenty-one years, hence the fellows needing the Founder's charity. Most commoners stayed only a few years to take the BA.

George spent seventeen years as a fellow, and took the BA, MA and BD. While doing so he also taught Logic, Greek and Natural Philosophy (i.e. science) in College and was one of the University proctors. He was ordained deacon in 1754



George Austen's signature amongst the Ten Seniors showing his agreement to decisions about College properties in 1762.

and then priest in 1755 (being ordained as deacon and priest a year apart was quite normal at the time). But in 1764 George would turn thirty-four and his thoughts were turning to marriage. All the fellows, with the exception of the president, were required to be unmarried, and many of them resigned to get married. George married Cassandra Leigh, whose uncle was the Master of Balliol, but, maybe more importantly, her brother James Leigh Perrot (who had added Perrot to his surname in 1751) had been a student at St John's from 1751 to 1758, studying Civil Law. He was a few years younger than George, but a BCL took seven years of study, and so James remained in College longer than the typical commoner. Perhaps the two young men became friends and it is possible that George Austen met Cassandra Leigh through that friendship.

George's marriage to Cassandra in 1764 removed him from St John's, but it virtually guaranteed that his descendants would continue to be members of the College. Cassandra Leigh was the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Mary Bridgman, the sister of Sir Thomas White, so her children could attempt to claim Founder's Kin fellowships. This, of course, was sadly not open to Jane, but it was an option for her brothers.

Two of them took the opportunity and, like their father, became fellows of St John's. James, the eldest child, became a fellow in 1779, took his BA in 1783, MA in 1788, was ordained priest in 1789 and resigned in 1792 on marriage. Henry

Cassandra Austen's Last Years and Wishes, with New Documents and Transcriptions

John Avery Jones, Devoney Looser and Peter Sabor

The year 2023 marks the 250th anniversary of the birth of Jane Austen's beloved sister, Cassandra Austen, born in Steventon on 9 January 1773. She outlived Jane by nearly three decades, dying near Portsmouth on 22 March 1845, during a visit from her home in Chawton to the home of her brother Sir Francis William Austen, KCB. She was buried six days later in Chawton. Although Cassandra's obituary in the Hampshire *Advertiser* mistook her place of death as Chawton, more accurate information ran in London and Limerick newspapers. These death notices were short and simple: '22nd, at Portsdown Lodge, Mrs Cassandra E. Austen, of Chawton, aged 72.'¹ Her gravestone at St Nicholas Churchyard, next to that of her mother Cassandra Austen, carries even less information, providing only the date of – and her age at – death.

The details of Cassandra's late life are sparse, presumably by her own design. Few letters survive. In the absence of more solid information, speculation abounds, including in a bestselling work of fiction.² But thanks to newly unearthed documents, we are in a position to reassess previous assumptions and assertions, as well as to add information to the biographical record, especially related to Cassandra's finances.

This essay describes and provides transcriptions of several sets of documents: Cassandra's 1843 will and its 1845 codicil; an 1843 letter, describing her final wishes, transcribed and published in full for the first time; and a selection of heretofore unknown information about her estate's probate and legacy duty. We describe and summarize them, furnishing transcriptions with annotations that identify people, places, things, and numbers, where known. We also draw on Charles Knight's unpublished diaries and on a partly unpublished letter from James Edward Austen-Leigh to his half-sister Anna Lefroy for information on their aunt's death and burial. Taken together, these materials provide significant new information about Cassandra's late life (and Jane's afterlife) in the 1840s. The essay also throws new light on the Austen family's rising status, existing social networks, and accumulated wealth in the mid-nineteenth century.

Cassandra's Final Days

As the documents that follow show, Cassandra died with considerable wealth, for which she had very specific plans. As much as she had prepared for her death, however, it appears the event was unexpected. The weeks before she died were busy and joyous ones for the Austen family at Portsdown Lodge, where Cassandra was a guest. Frank had taken up the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Navy's North America and West Indies Station and was readying HMS

Vindictive for its voyage. Four members of his family would be on board. Frank's son Herbert was named *Vindictive's* flag lieutenant.³ His son George was made chaplain, and two of his daughters joined the voyage as well.⁴

Frank's travel plans and domestic arrangements must have been in flux that winter and may yet have remained unsettled when Cassandra arrived. Although she did not 'feel equal to much in the visiting way', she felt she needed to take leave of the family before they left England and expected 'some pleasure in seeing the Ship & observing all the pride and circumstance attending a Commander in Chief', as she wrote in a letter. Cassandra acknowledged, too, that Frank's departure would result in 'real, substantial evils to me'.⁵ Surely she meant giving up regular visits to what must have been a favourite family home.

Frank had listed that home as available for furnished lease for a period of one, two, or three years, in February 1845. Portsdown Lodge – advertised as situated five miles from Portsmouth and six from the Fareham South Western Railway Station – was well situated and remarkably commodious. It had not only dining, drawing, and breakfast rooms, a study, an entrance hall, and light staircase, but also fourteen bedchambers with dressing rooms and water closets. Its outbuildings were also extensive, with a double carriage-house, a five-stalled stable, poultry-houses, a piggery, and twenty-five acres of pasture.⁶ Frank, who was living in style, would have been able to host Cassandra in comfort. But what was planned as a sister's leave-taking of her brother, nephews, and nieces became the scene of her last days.

After the *Vindictive* left the harbour for Spithead, on 12 March, the Austen family had gone aboard for a lavish party. According to one news report, 'Sir F. Austen, with his family', went out to *Vindictive* accompanied by a 'numerous party of ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood'. The admiral and gun-room officers alike provided 'spreads' with the best of the season for their guests, as 'Polka and waltzing was kept up till nearly sunset'.⁷ It is unclear whether Cassandra was among the large party visiting the ship. On about that day, her health took a grave turn for the worse; on 13 March, the Revd Charles Austen, son of Cassandra's elder brother Edward (Austen) Knight and (since 1837) Rector of Chawton, received a 'bad account' of Cassandra from Portsdown.⁸

On 16 March, a letter by her nephew, James Edward Austen-Leigh, reported that Cassandra had suffered a stroke and was dying.⁹ Frank, along with his two sons and two daughters, was obliged to go to Spithead and the HMS *Vindictive* on that day, leaving Cassandra in the care of other family members, with her brother the Revd Henry Thomas Austen in charge. Her brother Charles Austen was soon to join him as well.¹⁰ On 17 March, Cassandra made a codicil to her will, and her brother left Portsdown Lodge. On 18 March, *Vindictive* set sail.¹¹ Cassandra was 'still alive and conscious, but sinking' on 19 March, and on the same day Edward Knight Jr and his wife Adela travelled from Chawton to Portsdown to see her, returning without staying overnight.¹² She died three days later, at four in the morning.¹³ What had been a moment of family celebration turned into one of grieving. Cassandra had been the sole remaining sister and aunt, as well as

a woman who was (and remains) so important to the life story of her famous literary sister.

The coffin bearing Cassandra's body was brought from Portsdown to Chawton on 24 March, two days after her death, accompanied by her brother Charles, and placed in the dining room of her cottage. The funeral took place on 28 March at ten in the morning, with the service being taken by Charles Knight; among the mourners were Cassandra's brothers Henry and Charles; her nephews Edward Knight, William Knight, and James Edward Austen-Leigh, and her niece Caroline Austen. In James Edward's account:

The day was fine, but the wind exceedingly boisterous, blowing the pall almost off the Coffin, & quite sweeping away all sound of Charles's voice between the gate & Church door. It also struck me as remarkably emblematic of her age & condition that the wind whisked about us so many withered beech leaves, that the coffin was thickly strewn with them before the service closed.¹⁴

Nine months later, in his diary entry for 31 December, Charles Knight looked back, in characteristic fashion, on the events of the dying year. Of his aunt, he writes:

Aunt Cass^a was taken ill on a visit in the bitter cold weather of March to Portsdown Lodge, and died there after about a fortnight's illness. She is a very great loss to us all, & to all the parish, for whom she had been doing good and living among them almost uninterruptedly for 35 years

In the spirit of providing information that may allow us to add to knowledge of her life, we provide below Cassandra's will and codicil transcribed from the originals in the National Archives; the letter of wishes accompanying these (which has not previously been published in full); the probate documents (which, to our knowledge, have not been published before); the legacy duty record (previously unpublished); and a final note about her assets at the date of her death.

Cassandra's will replaced one in favour of Martha Lloyd, who had lived with Cassandra, Jane (until 1817), and their mother from the period of Mrs Lloyd's death in 1805 until Martha's marriage to Frank Austen in 1828. Martha's death on 24 January 1843 impelled Cassandra to draw up this will, in which she names her brother Charles as residuary legatee. It is unclear why Charles, rather than Frank, was so named: perhaps because he was the less wealthy and least successful of Cassandra's two naval brothers. In the codicil to her will, drawn up just five days before her death, she adds her brother Charles and nephew Edward Knight as co-executors, joining her brother Edward, who had previously been sole executor. She did so presumably as a precaution: Edward was then aged seventy-seven, and in poor health.

The original will, codicil and probate documents are in The National Archives ((TNA) PROB 10/6304). A transcription by Rosemary Mowl of the downloadable version at PROB 11/2015/93, reproduced in *Jane Austen Society Collected*

Reports, 1966-75 (1969), pp.103-105, shows the difficulty of reading the probate clerks' script; consequently, that transcription contains many errors. Mowl, for instance, transcribes Linc[olns] Inn, the address of Henry E. Austen, as 'Lieut RN' (p.106), thus turning a lawyer into a naval lieutenant. Two corrections to her work appeared in William Jarvis's, 'A Note on the Reverend James Austen', in *Collected Reports, 1976-85* (1981), pp.179-81. Jarvis did not, however, provide a new, corrected transcription, as we have done here.

Transcript of the Will

I Cassandra Elizabeth Austen of the Parish of Chawton in the County of Southampton Spinster do make and publish this my last will and Testament; to which I appoint my Brother Edw^d Knight¹⁵ of Godmersham Park in the County of Kent Executor. I give and bequeath to my said Brother Edw^d Knight one Thousand pounds Stock in the three per cent Reduced¹⁶ standing in my name.¹⁷ I give and bequeath to my Brother Henry Thomas Austen¹⁸ one Thousand Pounds Stock in the three per cent Reduced standing in my name.¹⁹ I give and bequeath to my brother Francis William Austen²⁰ one Thousand pounds Stock in the three per Cent Reduced standing in my name.²¹ I give and bequeath to my Niece Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy²² one Thousand pounds Stock in the three per cent Reduced Standing in my name.²³ I give and bequeath to Caroline Elizabeth Fowle²⁴ Daughter of the late Rev^d Fulwar Craven Fowle²⁵ of Kintbury Berkshire one Thousand pounds sterling. And as to the money secured on Lands²⁶ in the Parish of Higham in the County of Leicester belonging to the vicarage of Cubbington in Warwickshire which was given to me and my late Sister by the late M^{rs} Elizabeth Leigh²⁷ and which said money produces an annual Interest of six Pounds eight Shillings²⁸ I give the same to my Niece and God-daughter Cassandra Esten Austen²⁹ Daughter of my Brother Charles John Austen. And I give and bequeath the remainder of whatever I may have a right to dispose of after my just Debts & Funeral Expenses have been paid to my said Brother Charles John Austen upon condition that he pays Twenty Pounds a year by quarterly payments on the twenty first of March the twenty first of June the twenty first of September and the twenty first of December³⁰ to M^{rs} Mary Perigord³¹ now residing in Edward Street Portman Square during the term of her natural life. In witness whereof I the said Testatrix Cassandra Elizabeth Austen have hereunto set my hand and seal this ninth day of May 1843

(signed) Cass Elizabeth Austen (LS)³²

Signed sealed published³³ & delivered by the within named Cassandra Elizabeth Austen as and for her last Will & Testament in the presence of us who in her presence and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto³⁴

(signed) Edward Knight Jr Chawton Hants Esq^{re}³⁵

(signed) Charles B Knight Rector of Chawton Hants³⁶

This is a codicil to the will of ^{Godmersham} me Cassandra
 Elizabeth Austen of Chawton Cottage Spinster
 Whereas I have heretofore made my
 last will and testament and thereof
 appointed my brother Edward Knight of
 Godmersham Park Esq^{re} sole executor now
 I hereby appoint my brother Capt^m Charles
 Austen R.N. and my nephew Edward
 Knight of Chawton House Esq - to be joint
 executors of my said Will with my
 said brother Edward Knight and in all
 other respects I confirm my said Will
 in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand
 this seventeenth day of March one thousand
 eight hundred and forty five
 Signed, published and declared
 as part of the said Will by the said Cassandra Elizabeth
 Austen as & for a codicil to the
 last will and testament in the
 presence of us who at her request
 in her presence and in the presence
 of one another have hereunto set
 our hands as witnesses
 Henry C. Austen Esq^r Secy: Genl
 Capt^m Charles Austen R.N.
 Edward Knight Esq^r

The second page of the codicil to Cassandra's will (17 March 1845)

Transcript of the Codicil

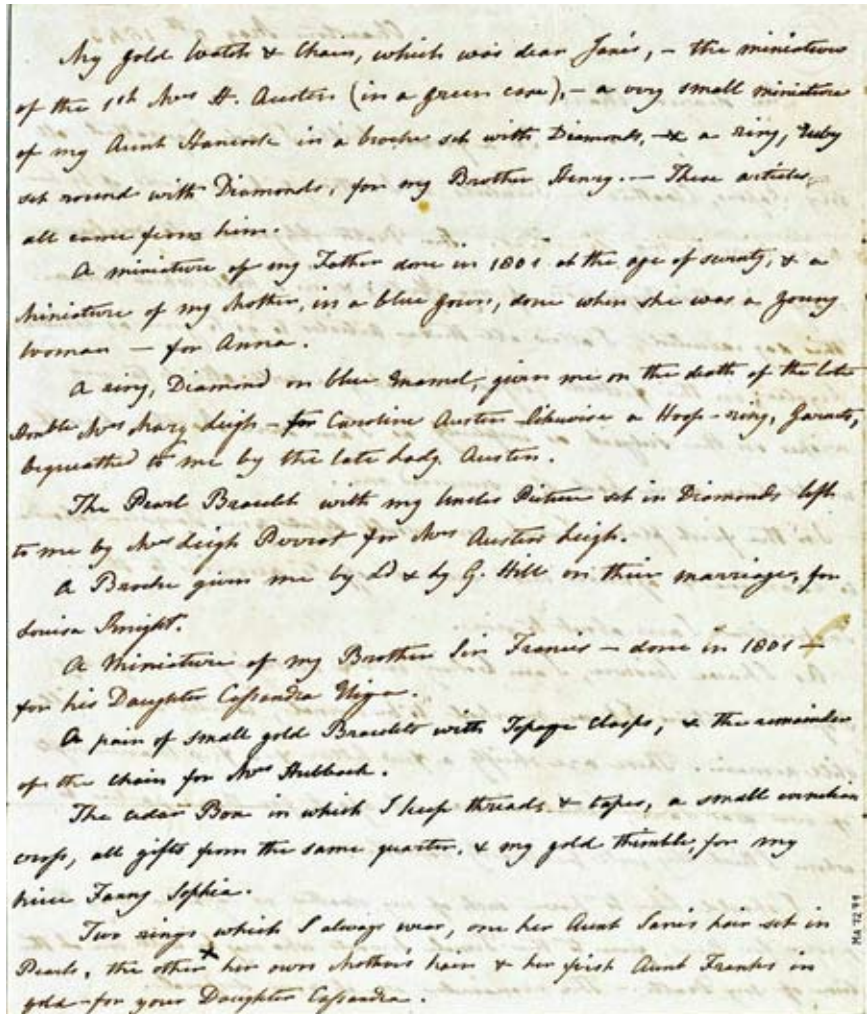
This is a Codicil to the Will of me Cassandra Elizabeth Austen of Chawton Cottage Spinster Whereas I have heretofore made my last will and testament and thereof appointed my brother Edward Knight of Godmersham Park Esq^{re} sole executor now I hereby appoint my brother Capt^m Charles J Austen RN and my nephew Edward Knight of Chawton House Esq to be joint executors of my said Will with my said brother Edward Knight and in all other respects I confirm my said Will in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of March one thousand eight hundred and forty five

(signed) Cass. Elizth Austen

Signed published and declared³⁷ by the said Cassandra Elizabeth Austen as & for a codicil to her³⁸ last will and testament in the presence of us who at her request and in her presence of one another have hereunto set our hands as witnesses³⁹

Henry E Austen Linc[olns] Inn 7 New Sq⁴⁰

Cassandra Eliza Austen Portsdown Lodge⁴¹

The image shows a single page of a handwritten letter on aged, slightly discolored paper. The handwriting is in a cursive script, characteristic of the early 19th century. The text is organized into several paragraphs, each describing a different piece of jewelry or a gift. The ink is dark, and there are some small stains and wear on the paper, particularly along the edges and in the center. The overall tone of the document is personal and sentimental.

My gold watch & chain, which was dear Jane's, - the miniature of the 1st Mrs St. Austen (in a green case), - a very small miniature of my Aunt Hancock in a brooch set with Diamonds, & a ring, Ruby set round with Diamonds, for my Brother Henry. - These articles, all come from him.

A miniature of my Father done in 1801 at the age of seventy, & a miniature of my Mother, in a blue gown, done when she was a young woman - for Anne.

A ring, Diamond on blue Enamel, given me on the death of the late Double Mrs Mary Leigh - for Caroline Austen likewise a Hoop-ring, garnets, bequeathed to me by the late lady Austen.

The Pearl Bracelet with my Uncle Pictou set in Diamonds left to me by Mrs Leigh Perrot for Mrs Austen Leigh.

A Brooch given me by D & by G. Hill on their marriage, for Maria Knight.

A Miniature of my Brother Sir Francis - done in 1801 - for his Daughter Cassandra Vige.

A pair of small gold Bracelets with Topaz clasps, & the remainder of the chain for Mr Stubbuck.

The cedar Box in which I keep threads & tapes, a small cushion cross, all gifts from the same quarter, & my gold thread, for my niece Fanny Sophia.

Two rings which I always wear, one her Aunt Sarah's hair set in Pearls, the other her own Mother's hair & her first Aunt Frances in gold - for your Daughter Cassandra.

The second page of Cassandra's Letter of Wishes, dated 9 May 1843. The Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Record ID: 195572, Accession Number: MA 7279). The copy of the second page and the complete transcription are reproduced with their kind permission.

This letter from Cassandra to her brother Charles was written on the same day as her will. It is not legally binding because it is not executed as required for a will, but such letters are convenient as they are more easily amended than wills, while withholding details from the public.

The letter, which is of great significance for Austen studies, was unknown to scholars until 1971, when it was sold at auction and quoted in the auction catalogue.⁴² Later bought by Gordon N. Ray, it was then acquired by the Morgan Library and transcribed in part by Jo Modert in the introduction to her 1990 facsimile edition of Jane Austen's letters. Modert omits the lengthy section below on the disposition of Cassandra's clothes and jewellery, but did print in full the first three paragraphs, of which the third is of especial importance. Here we learn that Cassandra is destroying 'some of my Papers', while setting others aside for future burning. But the letters and manuscripts of 'our dear Jane . . . I have set apart for those parties to whom I think they will be most valuable'. As Modert observes, this key sentence contradicts the statement made by Caroline Austen in 1867 about Cassandra's putative burning of her sister's letters: 'My Aunt looked them over and burnt the greater part (as she told me), 2 or 3 years before her own death.'⁴³ Cassandra's reference to 'my Papers' suggests that what she was destroying were writings of her own, such as letters she had written *to* her sister which she would have inherited on Jane's death. And although numerous critics from R.W. Chapman on have taken Caroline's recollections on trust, it seems likely, if not certain, that no such burning of Jane Austen's letters took place; Cassandra, instead, should be given credit for preserving the limited number of Jane's letters that had come into her possession.

In the remaining part of her letter, published here for the first time, Cassandra writes in detail about items such as hair and jewellery that she owned, giving valuable information on their provenance and intended destination. Most of the objects described in this letter have not been traced, and their whereabouts are unknown. Jewellery said to have been Jane's is known. For information about the famous turquoise ring, said to have been Jane Austen's, see 'Jane Austen's Ring', Jane Austen's House, <https://janeaustens.house/object/jane-austens-ring/>. Cassandra's described objects in this letter do not accord with a piece of jewellery, said to have been Austen's hair, sold at auction in 2008. See 'Austen's Hair to Net £5000', *The Guardian*, 2 June 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jun/02/janeausten> Perhaps these descriptions will lead to new speculations and discoveries.

Jewellery in Austen's fiction has been a subject of much consideration. Critic D. A. Miller notes its ubiquity in the novels, arguing that its presence must follow two considerations – that it must be given to the wearer and that the person who gives it ought to be either a relative or a lover with an expectation of proper alliance. Cassandra's descriptions of her jewellery follow this tradition. (See Miller, *Jane Austen, or The Secret of Style*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, p.11.)

Transcript of Cassandra's letter of wishes

Addressed: Captⁿ Austen R.N.

Chawton May 9th 1843

My dearest Charles,

In a former Will I had bequeathed all my Papers, Cloathes & Trinkets to Martha,⁴⁴ to be disposed of by her according to my directions. Her Death obliges me to make a change in this Disposition of my effects; & in a Will which I have this day executed, I allow all these Articles to go to you as residuary Legatee; in the fullest confidence that you will attend to my wishes on the subject as implicitly as I am sure Martha herself would have done had she survived me.

In the first place I wish you would depute your Daughter Cassandra to examine & apportion these several effects according to the Instructions I am about to give.

As I have leisure, I am looking over & destroying some of my Papers—others I have marked “to be burned”, whilst some will still remain. These are chiefly a few letters & a few manuscripts of our dear Jane, which I have set apart for those parties to whom I think they will be mostly valuable.⁴⁵

I should like to have such of my cloaths as Cassandra may think proper for them, given to the Female Servants who may be with me at the time of my Death.—The remainder are at your disposal.

My gold Watch & Chain,⁴⁶ which was dear Jane's,⁴⁷—the miniatures of the 1st M^{rs} H. Austen⁴⁸ (in a green case),—a very small miniature of my Aunt Hancock⁴⁹ in a broche set with Diamonds⁵⁰,—& a ring, ruby set round with Diamonds, for my Brother Henry.—These articles all came from him.

A miniature of my Father⁵¹ done in 1801 at the age of seventy, & a Miniature of my Mother,⁵² in a blue gown, done when she was a young woman—for Anna.

A ring, Diamond on blue Enamel, given me on the death of the late Hon^{ble} M^{rs} Mary Leigh⁵³—for Caroline Austen⁵⁴—likewise a Hoop-ring, Garnets, bequeathed to me by the late Lady Austen.⁵⁵

The Pearl Bracelet with my Uncles Picture set in Diamonds left to me by M^{rs} Leigh Perrot⁵⁶ for M^{rs} Austen Leigh.⁵⁷

A Broche given me by Ld and Ly G. Hill⁵⁸ on their marriage, for Louisa Knight.⁵⁹

A Miniature of my Brother Sir Francis—done in 1801—for his Daughter Cassandra Eliza.

A pair of small gold Bracelets with Topaze Clasps,⁶⁰ & the remainder of the Chain for M^{rs} Hubback.⁶¹

The cedar Box in which I keep threads & tapes, a small cornelian⁶² cross, all gifts from the same quarter,⁶³ & my gold thimble, for my Niece Fanny Sophia.⁶⁴

Two rings which I always wear, one her Aunt Jane's hair set in Pearls, the other* her own Mother's hair & her first Aunt Franks⁶⁵ in gold—for your Daughter Cassandra.⁶⁶

A small ring representing a sprig of Diamonds, with one Emerald, given me in remembrance of my Aunt Cooper⁶⁷ upon her Death, & a square gold broche, without any inscription, containing⁶⁸ Hair—your own & Franks,—for your Daughter Harriet Jane.⁶⁹

A Topaze cross⁷⁰ & the gold chain which I wear with my Glass, for your Daughter Fanny.⁷¹

The large India Shawl,⁷² which did belong to old M^{rs} Fowle of Kintbury,⁷³ to Caroline Elizth Fowle.⁷⁴

There are other dear friends to whom I should be glad to give a token of remembrance, were my effects sufficient, but I trust they will none of them doubt my affection, & I have already distributed till there is little left at your disposal.— Perhaps your own Harriet would select some article from my Wardrobe, to wear for my sake.

I have marked the contents of one of the small Drawers of one of my Bureaux for Anna. And as I have leisure I propose ticketing some of the⁷⁵ other articles I have named.

And now, God bless you & yours my dearest Charles.

I am your truly affect^e Sister

Cass. Elizth Austen

Oct. 17th 1843 *I am sorry that this ring has since been lost. I wish that an Ivory Work-Box ornamented with Steel⁷⁶ just given to me by Cas^{sra} Austen, belonging to her late dear Mother, should be returned to Caroline.⁷⁷

Probate Documents

Before 12 January 1858, all wills in England had to be proved by the church and other courts. The Prerogative Court of Canterbury (part of Doctors' Commons) was the most important of these courts, dealing with relatively wealthy individuals living mainly in the south of England and most of Wales. Probate was governed by ecclesiastical law, coming under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the south of England.

Probate Document Transcript

W&HC Rothery⁷⁸

Sub £16,000⁷⁹

Charles John Austen Esquire the brother of the deceased one of the executors named in the Codicil hereto was duly sworn to the truth and faithful performance of the within Will and of the said Codicil thereto as usual also that the goods chattels and estate of the said Deceased do not amount in excess of Sixteen thousand pounds and that the Testatrix died on the 22nd instant.

Before me

(signature) J Addams

[There are three sets of initials in the margin] Power reserved of making the like grant to Edward Knight Esquire the Brother the⁸⁰ executor named in the Will and Edward Knight Esquire the Nephew of the deceased the other executor named in the Codicil when they or either of them shall apply for the same.⁸¹

The testatrix Cassandra Elizabeth Austen⁸² was late of Chawton Cottage in the

Parish of Chawton in the County of Southampton Spinster deceased.

Proved at London with a Codicil 1st April 1845 before the Worshipful Jesse Addams⁸³ Doctor of Laws and Surrogate by the oath of Charles John Austen Esquire the brother one of the executors named in the said Codicil to whom Adm[inistrati]on was granted having been first sworn duly to Administer Power reserved of making the like grant to Edward Knight Esquire the Brother the Executor named in the Will and Edward Knight Esquire the nephew the⁸⁴ other Executor named in the said Codicil when they shall apply for the same.

Legacy duty

The internal legacy duty record of the Board of Stamps and Taxes⁸⁵ forms the final part of the transcript. Two death duties were applicable at the time: probate duty which was based on the value of the deceased's total personal property,⁸⁶ and legacy duty which was a tax on each legatee at rates which varied according to the relationship to the deceased. Legacy duty had been first introduced in 1780 by Lord North,⁸⁷ who wanted something on the lines of the Dutch tax on successions then recently described by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*,⁸⁸ which differentiated the tax rate according to the relationship with the deceased, and which itself was based on a Roman tax imposed by Augustus. In its original form it was unsuccessful, but the duty was subsequently made effective in legislation introduced by William Pitt in 1796.⁸⁹ Pitt had introduced two Bills for this tax, one relating to personal property and the other to real (landed) property which was the main form of wealth. The former was passed easily but the latter proved to be extremely controversial, with suggestions that it was a way of nationalising all land, and was withdrawn, leaving the tax restricted to personal property (i.e. everything other than landed property, but including leaseholds); the extension of death duties to real property would not happen until Gladstone's Succession Duty Act 1853.

Various increases in the rates of duty were made so that by the time of Cassandra's death in 1845 the rate for brothers and sisters and their descendants had increased from the original 2% to 2.5%⁹⁰ and then to 3%, and the top rate had increased from 6% to 10%.⁹¹ While differential rates depending on consanguinity appear superficially attractive, the problems this can cause are well illustrated by Cassandra's case. She paid the top rate, then 6%, on her £1,000 legacy from her fiancé Tom Fowle, and when she left £1,000 back to Tom's niece that again suffered the top rate, now 10%, as can be seen in the legacy duty record below. The other occasion when the rate structure can cause hardship is when legacies are left to servants who, being unrelated, invariably pay the top rate, usually on small legacies. This would have applied to Cassandra's annuity to Mrs Perigord but for the fact that she died before payments started and duty became payable.⁹² The practice of leaving legacies free of duty with the duty being paid out of residue had not developed at this time, although it was not prohibited. The yield from legacy and probate duties was significant, amounting in 1845 to £2.33m, nearly half of the yield of about £5m from income tax (which had been reintroduced in

1842),⁹³ and 11.3% of tax revenue, other than customs and excise, of £20.54m.⁹⁴

One of the features of legacy duty was that assets were valued at the date of the legacy duty account rather than the date of death, because the focus was on the receipt by the legatee rather than the estate at death. The Court decided in 1810⁹⁵ that interest accrued after the date of death up to the date of the account was included on the basis that if, for example, the asset in the estate was a house which burnt down after the date of death or was a bank account and the bank failed after the date of death, duty should not be payable on non-existent values.

Legacy duty record

The following is a transcript of the internal legacy duty records of the Board of Stamps and Taxes in the National Archives; it has not been published before and contains useful financial information.⁹⁶ The Legacy Duty Account, which would have been prepared by the executors and would have contained details of the assets forming residue and the liabilities and funeral expenses, has not survived. There is only a selection of about thirty specimens for the whole year, plus one (Elizabeth Fry) in a different series relating to those of well-known people.⁹⁷ This is expected; the catalogue states that '[m]ost of these have been destroyed, although a few survive'. Items in bold are those that are printed on the form. In order to fit the transcript onto the page several columns have been omitted which are either blank or contain minimal information that has been moved elsewhere in the transcript.

Transcript of the legacy duty record

		Date of Will	Name, Residence, and Description of Executor		Where and when proved		Sworn under	Corresp ondence
293 ⁹⁸ Cassandra Eliz th Austen late of Chawton Cottage Chawton Hants who died the 22 day of March 1845		9 May 1843	Charles John Austen Devonport Devon Capt ^l RN Esq ^{re} Powr R ⁹⁹ Edward Knight the brother & Edward Knight the nephew		P Ct Cantb ^{y100} 10 April 1845 Rothery ¹⁰¹		£16,000	1 st letter 26 April 1845 ¹⁰² 293
	Legacies	Legatee	Consang uinity	What deem ed	Value of Annuitie s and Bequests	Rate of duty	Date of Payme nt	Total duty
1	£1,000 Stock in 3 p ^r cents reduced standing in Testors ¹⁰³	to Edw ^d Knight ¹⁰⁴ born 'Austen'	Bro ^r	Abs 105	975 div 14.11.3	3	17 May '45	29.13.9

	name							
2	£1,000 do do	to Henry Tho ^s Austen	"	"	975 14.11.3	3	17 May '45	29.13.9
3	£1,000 do do	to Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy	DB ¹⁰⁶	"	975 14.11.3	3	17 May '45	29.13.9
3 ¹⁰⁷	£1,000 3 pr Cents reduced ¹⁰⁸ in Testors name	to Francis Will ^m Austen	Bro	"	975 14.11.3	3	17 May '45	29.13.9
4	£1,000 Sterling	to Caroline Eliz th Fowle	Stranger	"	1000	10	17 May '45	100. .
5	Money secured on land in the parish of Higham which produces an Annual p ^t of £6.8.0	to Cassandra Esten Austen £127.19.6	DB	"	129.1.- 2 months interest £1.1.6 [illegible]	3	30 June '45	3.17.5 [illegible]
6	Residue Subject to annuity of £20 p ^t annum R [?] to [] to know if Mary Perigord is decd Drs [signature] 16 October 1845 ¹⁰⁹	to Mary Perigord for life payable quarterly to Charles John Austen	Stranger ¹¹⁰ Bro	Ann ^{vy} Abs	Lapsed ¹¹¹ 9058.6.9	 3	 31 Aug '45	 271.15.0

Ref No 2329 1845

Cassandra's Assets

The legacy duty record lists only the assets in the estate which are specifically bequeathed. More information is available about her assets in the Bank of England archives for holdings of government securities, and from income paid into her account at Hoare's Bank. These enable us to construct the following table listing many of her assets at the date of death. This starts with the figures in the legacy duty record (which are values at the date of distribution), deducts the income accrued since the date of death which is included in the legacy duty figures, and revalues the known assets at the date of death. Figures have been rounded to the nearest pound.

Assets valued at date of distribution	£
UK Stocks ¹¹²	
£6,000 Reduced 3% Stock	5,850
£2,600 3% Consols	2,586
£700 Bank Stock	1,481
Brazilian bonds ¹¹³	900
Exchequer bills ¹¹⁴	800
Hoare's Bank balance (adjusted) ¹¹⁵	110
Mortgage	129
Unknown assets to make up total	<u>2,308</u>
Total equal to the total for legacy duty above	14,146
Adjust to date of death	
Deduct income since the date of death	-401
Add expenses paid since the date of death	584
Add excess of the valuations at the date of death over the values at distribution	<u>380</u>
Value of the estate at death	14,708

There are uncertainties in making these adjustments because first, without further information one cannot differentiate between liabilities of the estate (which should not be added back) and the costs of administering the estate (which should be), although the liabilities are likely to have been small. Secondly, Cassandra's bank account was used as an executor's account until 5 June 1845 when the balance was transferred to Charles's account at Hoare's Bank which he also used to pay matters relating to the estate, for example the legacy of £1,000 (£900 after legacy duty) on 17 May 1845 and the cost of transferring investments, so it is not possible to determine whether other payments in his account related to the estate. One payment that we have included is '20 May 1845 To C E Austen's Es'te £219.12.9', although there is no corresponding receipt in Cassandra's account that was used as an executor's account.¹¹⁶

With those reservations, the table shows that the value of her assets at the date of her death was around £14,700 which confirms its falling within the probate duty band of £14,000 to £16,000.¹¹⁷ We have not attempted to trace the derivation of these assets but known sources of her assets¹¹⁸ include the following: a £50 legacy from the estate of Thomas Knight in 1794; a legacy of £940 (after legacy duty) from her fiancé Tom Fowle in 1797; £50 from a legacy from Mrs Lillingston¹¹⁹ in 1806; £544 (after legacy duty) from the residue of Jane Austen's estate in 1817; £437 on 4 August 1827 on the winding up of Mr and Mrs George Austen's marriage settlement of 15 March 1764;¹²⁰ £454 from the residue of her mother's estate in 1827; a £5,000 gift from Mrs Leigh Perrot on 15 January 1833 (in her statements at Hoare's Bank) which she invested in £5,772 3% Reduced stock; £1,200 being her share of £6,000 legacy from Mr Leigh Perrot paid on Mrs. Leigh Perrot's death in 1836; £100 from James's estate out of his legacy from Mr

Leigh Perrot's estate paid on Mrs Leigh Perrot's death in 1836; £750.0.10 3% Consols (value about £707) transferred to her by Edward Knight on 11 August 1843, total £9,382 (although it is misleading to add money of different worth at different dates over a very long period).¹²¹

Acknowledgements. We are grateful to Professor Jan Fergus for her assistance in deciphering the legacy duty record; to Pamela Hunter, the Hoare's Bank archivist, for her assistance with Cassandra's bank statements; to the staff at the Bank of England's archives for their assistance with Cassandra's stock records; and to The Morgan Library and Museum, New York.

Notes

1. *Hampshire Advertiser*, 29 March 1845, p.8; *The Sun* (London), 2 April 1845, p.8; *The Observer*, 6 April 1845, p.4; *Limerick Chronicle*, 5 April 1845, p.3.
2. See, for instance, Gill Hornby, *Miss Austen* (Century 2020).
3. *The Caledonian Mercury*, 2 January 1845, p.4.
4. According to Deirdre Le Faye, Frank was joined on board the *Vindictive* by his daughters Cassandra Eliza and Fanny Sophia, as well as his two serving sons. See *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 17 March 1845, p.666. Another naval son, Commander Frank Austen, had hoped to serve alongside his father and brothers on the *Vindictive* but was not appointed. That news disappointed the family. See Deirdre Le Faye, 'Anna Lefroy and Her Austen Family Letters', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 62, no. 3, Spring 2001, p.561.
5. Le Faye, 'Anna Lefroy', p. 560.
6. *Hampshire Telegraph and Naval Chronicle*, 8 February 1845, p.4. Some, but not all, of these details are listed in Le Faye, *Chronology*, 11 January 1845, p.666.
7. *The Standard* (London), 15 March 1845, p.4.
8. Charles Knight, diary entry for 13 March 1845; Charles Knight diaries vol. 14, Jane Austen's House Museum.
9. Le Faye, *Chronology*, 16 March 1845, p.666.
10. *Ibid.*, 17 March 1845, p.666.
11. According to the *Hampshire Advertiser*: 'Vice Admiral Sir Francis W. Austen, K. C. B, re-hoisted his flag at the fore on board the *Vindictive*, 50, Capt. Seymour, on Tuesday, at Spithead, and early on the following day proceeded by a fine wind at N E, to assume the command on the North American and West Indian station.' See 'Portsmouth, March 22, 1845', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 22 March 1845, p.5. In 1845, 22 March was a Saturday.
12. Le Faye, *Chronology*, 19 March 1845, p.666; Charles Knight, diary entry for 19 March.
13. *Ibid.*, 22 March 1845, p.666; Charles Knight, diary entry for 22 March.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.666-67; Charles Knight, diary entries for 24, 28 March; letter from

James Edward Austen-Leigh to Anna Lefroy, 29 March 1845, Hampshire Record Office 23M93/84/1/11. This letter is printed with substantial omissions in *Austen Papers 1704–1856*, ed. R. A. Austen-Leigh (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne, 1942), pp. 294–95; our quotations are from the original.

15. Edward Knight, né Austen (1767–1852).
16. Before 1757 this Stock carried a higher rate of interest which was reduced; hence its name. Cassandra would not have lost by the reduction in interest rates, which took place before she was born.
17. There is no transfer of stock to Edward in the Bank of England archives (AC27/6952); after the transfers of £970 stock (after 3% legacy duty) to the other three legatees of the stock, the balance of £3,090 stock was transferred to Charles. It seems therefore that Edward must have waived the legacy, although the legacy duty record below shows him as having paid the legacy duty on it.
18. Henry Thomas Austen (1771–1850).
19. £970 stock (after 3% legacy duty) was transferred to Henry on 5 May 1845. This enabled Henry and his wife Eleanor to rent Little Grove House in Tunbridge Wells, to which he had retired (Angela Barlow, ‘Eleanor Jackson, the second Mrs Henry Austen’, 2018 *Annual Report*, pp.63–79).
20. Francis William Austen (1774–1865).
21. £970 stock (after 3% legacy duty) was transferred to Francis on 3 May 1845.
22. Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy, née Austen, known as Anna (1793–1872): £970 stock (after 3% legacy duty) was transferred to her on 3 May 1845. The remaining £3,090 stock was transferred to Charles as residuary legatee on 5 June 1845.
23. James Edward Austen-Leigh approved of this part of the document, telling Anna: ‘I am very well pleased with the contents of my Aunt’s will, & especially with the part that concerns you. I think she was right in leaving the same sum to her elder brother’s family which she bequeathed to the others, & that she has selected the right person in leaving it to you’ (letter of 29 March 1845, Hampshire Record Office 23M93/84/1/11).
24. There is a payment from Charles’s account at Hoare’s Bank on 17 May 1845 to ‘Robarts & Co for Miss Caroline E Fowle w’h Baring & Co £900’. Caroline suffered legacy duty at the top rate of 10% as they were not related by blood. The name should have been Elizabeth Caroline Fowle (1798–1860); there was a sister Caroline Elizabeth who had been born and died in 1794 (*Jane Austen’s Letters*, ed. Deirdre Le Faye 4th ed, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.525).
25. Fulwar Craven Fowle (1764–1840), the elder brother of Tom Fowle (1765–97), who had been engaged to Cassandra in 1797 but died in Martinique, as we now know, before they could be married; see Michael Fowle, ‘The Death of Tom Fowle’, 2021 *Annual Report*, p.49, and the legacy duty record

relating to his legacy of £1,000 to her on which she paid £60 duty (TNA IR 26/10 f66). It is not clear how the error that he died in San Domingo arose. The Revd Fulwar Craven Fowle (Fulwar is pronounced Fuller according to family knowledge for which we thank Michael Fowle, Tom's second cousin four times removed) married his cousin Eliza Lloyd, sister of Mary and Martha Lloyd.

26. A mortgage debt (or possibly a rentcharge).
27. Elizabeth Leigh (1735–1816), Cassandra's godmother. The money is not in her will, so this must have been a lifetime gift.
28. Valued for legacy duty at £127.19.0 (plus 2 months interest £1.1.0); see the transcript below, implying an interest rate of 5%, the maximum permitted by the usuary laws.
29. Cassandra Austen (1808–97), eldest daughter of Charles Austen by his first wife Frances Palmer (c.1790–1814). Charles wrote to Cassandra from Bermuda on 24 December 1808 informing her of the birth and asking her to be Godmother (The Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Record ID: 195573, Accession Number: MA 7280).
30. Note that these are not the usual quarter days.
31. Madame Perigord was the daughter of Mme Bigeon, both of whom were Henry Austen's servants before his bankruptcy in 1816 (Jane Austen left £50 in her will to Mme Bigeon). Bigeon was housekeeper and cook to Henry, remaining with him after his wife Eliza died. It is believed Bigeon emigrated from France as caregiver to Hastings de Feuillide, son of Henry's wife, Eliza Austen (then de Feuillide). See Claire Tomalin, 'Jane Austen: Being Rich, Being Poor', *Annual Report*, 1999, p.275.

Bigeon and Perigord probably both lost money in Henry's bank, Austen, Maunde & Tilson. There is a letter of 24 November 1822 in The Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Record ID: 195575, Accession Number: MA 7281) from Henry to Charles Austen saying that he had hoped by then to have paid the debt to Bigeon of £100 in full and then pay members of the family, but he had to reduce the tithes at Steventon by £20 p.a. for two years; he was under no legal obligation to pay Bigeon, having been made bankrupt.

In the bankruptcy of Henry's bank, Charles was owed £536.3.8; James £42.0.6; Frank £292.18.2; Jane £25.7.0; Edward Knight £493.8.3; and Mrs Cassandra Austen [mother] £132.6.6 (letter of 9 February 1841 from Day & Hughes to Edward, Hampshire Record Office 18M61 Box F/6). If Mrs Perigord claimed in the bankruptcy, she would have received 10s 3½d (51.45%) in the pound in 1843–44 before Cassandra's death (*London Gazette*, 17 March 1843 No 20205 p.926 dividend of 6s 8d in the pound; 2 May 1843 No 20220 p.143 dividend of 3s 4d; and 2 July 1844 No 20359 p.2279 final dividend of 3½d). But since Henry was trying to pay the debt to Bigeon in 1822, it may well have been paid before the distribution in the bankruptcy.

Cassandra had been paying Bigeon's daughter, Mrs Perigord, an annuity;

there was a payment of £50 to her on 30 December 1844 in Cassandra's bank statement at Hoare's. She made it a condition of Charles inheriting that he continued the payments during Mrs Perigord's lifetime; this saved the executor from setting up and continuing to operate a separate fund for the annuity.

Previous scholars report having been unable to determine the whereabouts of Bigeon and Perigord after Jane Austen's death. See Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1997), p.322, n19. See also Claire Tomalin, 'Jane Austen: Being Rich, Being Poor', *Annual Report*, 1999, pp.272-280. We have located records indicating that Cassandra outlived Bigeon by almost fourteen years and that Perigord outlived Cassandra by seven months. Part of the difficulty in tracing these two women is that both French and Anglicized versions of their names were used in public records. Madame Marie François Bijon (who also went by Mary Frances or Francis Bigeon) died in London in 1831, at an age recorded as ninety, placing her birth year circa 1741. See Burial of Marie Francis Bigeon, Westminster, St. Marylebone, 17 June 1831, Ancestry.com. London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials, 1813-2003 [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original data: *Board of Guardian Records, 1834-1906 and Church of England Parish Registers, 1813-2003*. London Metropolitan Archives, London.

Bigeon's daughter, Madame Marie Marguerite Bijon Fraylet (de) Perigord (who also went by or was called Mary Margaret Bigeon Fraylett Perigord or Perigeux), was born circa 1773. She outlived her husband Pierre (or Peter) Fraylet, dying in London in 1845 at an age recorded as seventy-two. She made her will on 20 October, 1845 (Will of Mary Fraylet de Perigord, National Archives, PROB 11/2032/203). She was buried on 26 October, 1845. See Burial of Mary Fraylet, 26 October 1845, Westminster, St. Marylebone, Ancestry.com. *London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials, 1813-2003* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

32. *Locus Sigilli* (where the seal is placed). Strictly, sealing was not necessary for a will but it was common practice and added formality; the codicil is not sealed.
33. A will executed in accordance with the Wills Act 1837 was valid without any other publication (s 13).
34. This is in accordance with the then recent Wills Act 1837 s 9: 'That no Will shall be valid unless it shall be in Writing and executed in manner herein-after mentioned; (that is to say,) it shall be signed at the Foot or End thereof by the Testator, or by some other Person in his Presence and by his Direction; and such Signature shall be made or acknowledged by the Testator in the Presence of Two or more Witnesses present at the same Time; and such Witnesses shall attest and shall subscribe the Will in the Presence of the Testator, but no Form of Attestation shall be necessary.' Before that, three witnesses were required

for wills of real (landed) property, and none for wills of personal property (including leaseholds) and in the latter case the testator did not need to sign if he or she had written the will.

35. Edward Knight (1794–1879), Cassandra’s nephew, son of Edward Austen Knight, who lived at Chawton Great House from 1826, and who was later appointed one of the executors by the codicil. He provided Cassandra with milk and company whenever she required it (Hazel Jones, *The Other Knight Boys*, p.31). Immediately after Cassandra’s death he converted her cottage into three labourers’ dwellings (p.38).
36. Charles Bridges Knight (1803–67), son of Edward Austen Knight, Rector of Chawton 1837–67. Cassandra was living on her own when he became rector; he helped her with maintaining her garden and she helped him by sewing for him and teaching reading and sewing at the village school (Jones, *The Other Knight Boys*, pp. 116-17).
37. ‘as and for a Codicil to the’ is deleted after ‘declared’. This and the following deletion, both by Cassandra, suggest that she was copying from a draft provided by her lawyer and had initially skipped a line while doing so.
38. ‘the’ is altered to ‘her’.
39. The wording is slightly different from the attestation clause in the will, but it is to the same effect and complies with the Wills Act 1837; see n. 34.
40. Henry-Edgar Austen (1811–54), Francis Austen’s son, a barrister (Inner Temple).
41. Cassandra Eliza Austen (1814–49), Francis’s daughter.
42. See Jo Modert, ed., *Jane Austen’s Manuscript Letters in Facsimile* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990), p.xvi.
43. *Ibid.*, pp.xxiv-xxv; Modert, ‘Letters/Correspondence’, *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1986), pp.271-78; Caroline Austen, *My Aunt Jane Austen: A Memoir* (Alton: Jane Austen Society, 1952), pp.9-10; Peter Sabor, ‘Jane Austen’, *Censorship: A World Encyclopaedia*, ed. Derek Jones (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), I, pp.129-30.
44. Martha Lloyd (1765–1843), Cassandra and Jane Austen’s close friend, who had married Francis Austen in 1828.
45. For a summary of the way in which Cassandra assigned her sister’s manuscripts to different branches of the Austen family, see Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen’s Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p.238. As Sutherland notes, ‘there is no evidence to suggest that this decisive apportioning of the literary inheritance reflected any other judgement than Cassandra’s own’.
46. As this watch did not feature in Jane Austen’s Legacy Duty Account, it is likely that she gave it to Cassandra in her lifetime. The same might be true of all her jewellery, as it was declared at a nil value. It is possibly originally a watch belonging to Henry, which he gave to Jane before becoming bankrupt; or it may have been an earlier gift from Henry to Jane.

47. According to Marcia Pointon, there was no difference in the sizes between men's and women's watches until the late nineteenth century. Pointon notes that Austen's watch would have been a fob watch. Men often wore them with a ribbon, tucked into or hanging out of a breeches pocket. Women wore them as a chatelaine, with a chain at the waist, although sometimes watches were worn on a chain around the neck or slung across the bodice. Pointon also makes a connection between Austen's watch and Elizabeth Bennet's watch in *Pride and Prejudice*. In both cases, real and fictional, Pointon notes, for women, 'owning watches must have signified a degree of independence, of running your own life, knowing what time it was when you were away from striking domestic clocks and church towers'. Marcia Pointon, 'Question about women and pocket watches'. Email received by Devoney Looser, 12 July 2022.
48. Eliza de Feuillide, née Hancock (1761–1813).
49. Philadelphia Hancock, née Austen (1730–92), sister of the Revd George Austen.
50. On this extant object, see 'Portrait Miniature of Philadelphia Hancock', Jane Austen's House, <https://janeaustens.house/object/portrait-miniature-of-mrs-philadelphia-hancock/>.
51. The Revd George Austen (1731-1805).
52. Cassandra Austen, née Leigh (1739-1827).
53. Mary Leigh (d. 1806), daughter of Thomas, 4th Lord Leigh.
54. Caroline Austen (1805–80), unmarried daughter of James Austen.
55. Martha Lloyd, here given her marital title.
56. Jane Leigh Perrot, née Cholmeley (1744–1836), wife of James Leigh Perrot.
57. Emma Austen Leigh, née Smith (1801–76), who had married James Edward Austen-Leigh in 1828.
58. Lord George Augusta Hill (1801-79) and his late wife Cassandra Jane Hill, née Knight (1806–42).
59. Louisa Knight (1804–89), who in 1847 would become the second wife of Lord George Augusta Hill.
60. These bracelets, as described by Cassandra, do not accord with the one now in the collection of the Jane Austen Museum. See 'Jane Austen's Bracelet', Jane Austen's House, <https://janeaustens.house/object/jane-austens-bracelet/>.
61. Catherine Anne Hubback, née Austen (1818–77), daughter of Francis Austen, who had married John Hubback in 1842.
62. i.e. carnelian, a type of agate.
63. Presumably Catherine Hubback, who would thus have also given Cassandra the gold bracelets and chain mentioned above.
64. Frances Sophia Austen (1821–1904), unmarried daughter of Francis Austen.
65. Mary Austen (née Gibson) (1784–1823), the first wife of Francis Austen.
66. Information about known remnants of Jane Austen's hair, and further information about Regency hair jewellery, may be found in the collection at

Jane Austen's House. See 'Lock of Jane Austen's Hair', Jane Austen's House, <https://janeaustens.house/object/lock-of-jane-austens-hair/> and 'Mourning Brooch', Jane Austen's House, <https://janeaustens.house/object/mourning-brooch/>. Cassandra's descriptions do not accord with these specific pieces, nor do they accord with a piece of jewellery said to have been Austen's hair and sold at auction in 2008. See 'Austen's Hair to Net £5000', *The Guardian*, 2 June 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jun/02/janeausten> On Austen's hair and its travels, see Claudia L. Johnson, *Jane Austen's Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp.155-56.

67. Jane Cooper, née Leigh (1736–83).
68. 'their' is deleted before 'Hair'.
69. Harriet Jane Austen (1810–65), daughter of Charles Austen.
70. On the well-known topaz crosses, given to Cassandra and Jane by their naval brother Charles, see 'Topaz Crosses', Jane Austen's House, <https://janeaustens.house/object/topaz-crosses/>. See also Paula Byrne, 'The Topaz Crosses', *The Real Jane Austen: A Life in Small Things* (New York: Harper, 2012), pp.237-52.
71. Frances Palmer Austen (1812–82), daughter of Charles Austen, who had married her cousin Francis William Austen in 1843.
72. On Indian shawls in Austen's life and writings, see Byrne, 'The East Indian Shawl', *The Real Jane Austen*, pp.29-30.
73. Jane Fowle (née Craven) (d. 1798).
74. i.e. Elizabeth Caroline Fowle, as above, n. 24.
75. 'of the' is a superscript insertion.
76. 'ornamented with Steel' is a superscript insertion. See <http://www.historywebsite.co.uk/Museum/metalware/steel/steel1.htm> for the use of steel in jewellery.
77. This addition demonstrates that Cassandra kept the letter, presumably with her will, rather than sending it to Charles when it was originally written.
78. This is the signature in the partnership name of the partnership between William Rothery Jr (1800–63) and his brother Henry Cadogan Rothery (1817–88) who were practising in partnership as proctors at Doctors' Commons at the time. Before 1 July 1843 William Rothery Snr (1775–1864) was in partnership with William Jr; on that date William Snr retired and H. C. Rothery was admitted as a partner; that continued until 30 June 1851 when H. C. became an Admiralty Registrar. This information is taken from the law report of *Re Rothery, Eddison v Rothery*, *The Weekly Reporter* (1864) vol XII, p.1138. It was necessary to engage a proctor to obtain probate for which they charged fees according to the value of the personal estate rather than the value of the work done, the amount being disguised under the heading 'Probate under Seal and Stamp' which included the probate [stamp] duty (in Cassandra's case this fee would have been £15.3.2, see following note) plus separate charges for actual work such as 'preparing affidavit as to property,' 'attending before a surrogate,' 'paid register's fee, filing the same,'

‘extracting,’ ‘clerks and parchment,’ and ‘engrossing paid registering, and collating the will,’ the last of these depending on the length of the will for which the proctor charged 3s 4d per folio of ninety words which was a five hundred percent mark-up on the registrar’s charge to him of 8d per folio (C. Conyngham, *Doctors’ Commons Unveiled* (London: Partridge, Oakey & Co 1854). The reference in the legacy duty form to ‘Rothery’ is presumably in case the legacy duty office needed to refer to the proctor who had dealt with the probate, possibly if the legacy duty particulars demonstrated that the estate was under-valued for probate duty.

79. i.e., less than £16,000, meaning the value of the estate was within the band from £14,000 to £16,000 on which the rate of probate duty was £250 which the proctor would mark-up to £265.3.2; there is a payment to Messrs Rothery (see previous note) on 3 April 1845 in Hoare’s bank statements for £270.16.4 which will include this. The then current rates of probate duty are in the Stamp Act 1815 (55 Geo 3 c 184) in Pt III of the Schedule.
80. ‘brother the’ is a superscript insertion.
81. The effect of this is that probate is granted only to Charles but that the two Edward Knights can later apply to be joined if they wish (which is unlikely). Charles had been appointed as an additional executor by the codicil and it was probably considered more convenient for him to act alone.
82. ‘Spinster’ is deleted after ‘Austen’, presumably because the draftsman decided to include the address first.
83. Jesse Addams DCL (1786–1871), advocate practising in the Prerogative Court of Doctors’ Commons and Surrogate [judge], Librarian of Doctors’ Commons 1824–5, Treasurer 1826–7 (information from Register of Members in App III of GD Squibb, *Doctors’ Commons*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1977). He was author of about sixteen editions of *Reports of cases argued and determined in the ecclesiastical courts at Doctors’ Commons and in the High Court of Delegates* (1823 onwards) and many other legal works. In *David Copperfield*, Charles Dickens referred to Doctors’ Commons as a ‘cosey, dosey, old-fashioned, time-forgotten, sleepy-headed little family party’. The ‘family party’ is probably a reference to nepotism, which was rife in Doctors’ Commons (and maybe other courts); see Squibb, pp.35-6, which includes a four-generation example, and n. 78 for an example relevant to Cassandra’s estate.
84. ‘the nephew the’ is a superscript insertion.
85. Legacy duty was originally under the control of the Board of Stamps which merged with the Board of Taxes in 1833.
86. See n. 111 below on the probate duty on Cassandra’s estate.
87. Lord North was Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782.
88. Glasgow Edition V.ii.h.4 (The publication of *The Wealth of Nations* in March 1776 was less than three months after Jane Austen’s birth).
89. Legacy Duty Act 1796 (36 Geo 3 c 52).
90. (1808) 48 Geo 3 c 149 Sch Pt III.

91. (1815) 55 Geo 3 c 184 Sch Pt III. The full scale for deaths from 5 April 1805 where the legacy was paid after 31 August 1815 was spouses nil; children and their descendants 1%; brothers and sisters and their descendants 3%; uncles and aunts and their descendants 5%; great uncles and aunts and their descendants 6%; more remote relatives and strangers in blood 10%.
92. See n. 111.
93. Income tax had automatically expired with the peace treaty ending the Napoleonic War in 1816 but was reintroduced by Peel in 1842 for three years 'and no longer', which has been extended annually to the present day.
94. *Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 5 January 1846* (1846) HC 144. The total of customs and excise revenue was £37.2m.
95. *Attorney-General v. Lord George Henry Cavendish* 145 ER 1183, (1810) Wright. 82. Printed in John Wightwick, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Exchequer* (London: Joseph Butterworth, 1819), p.82.
96. TNA IR 26/1696 f.293.
97. TNA IR 19/83 (general); IR 59 (well-known people).
98. This is the folio number of the record (also repeated in the right-hand column).
99. Contraction of power reserved, see n. 81 above for the meaning.
100. Prerogative court of Canterbury (part of Doctors' Commons).
101. See n 78. This is the name of the partnership of Proctors who dealt with the probate in Doctors' Commons which is noted possibly in case a query relating to probate duty was raised as a result of the figures in the Legacy Duty Account.
102. This has not survived; there are no letters later than 1836 in TNA IR 6. The catalogue says 'Subsequent letters have been destroyed under statute'.
103. Contraction of testator's/testatrix's.
104. See n 17 where we argue that he waived this legacy.
105. Absolute legacy (with no strings attached). For an explanation of this and the following item see <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/death-duties-1796-1903/> under 7 and 8.
106. Descendant of a brother.
107. The number 3 is repeated in the original.
108. 'reduced' is a superscript addition.
109. This very indistinct note seems to be an official asking for confirmation to be obtained that Mary Perigord is deceased. The date of 16 October 1845 must be the date of making the request as she did not die until 22 October 1845. The death certificate is in her married name Mary Fraylet. See n 31. No response is noted on the form.
110. Unclear as very faded.
111. This implies that Mrs Perigord died before Cassandra which is wrong, see n 31; another explanation could be that she had died before the Legacy Duty Account was filed by the executors, which seems unlikely as the last payment

mentioned on this form was on 31 August 1845 and the Account would have been completed shortly after that. If it had been payable, the duty would have been calculated in accordance with a table depending on the annuitant's age and would be deducted from the first four years' payments, the first payment being due before or on completing the first year's annuity payments. By this time, Mrs Perigord was dead, so the right result of no duty on the annuity was reached. (Legacy Duty Act 1796 s 8 and Schedule for the Tables). The fact that Cassandra left the residue of her estate to Charles on condition he paid the annuity, rather than leaving the annuity to Mrs Perigord directly, makes no difference to the duty (s 9).

112. Bank of England archives GBOR BOE 174/0174/1 and 0175/1.
113. Since probate duty was paid on these it is assumed that they were on a UK register and therefore UK assets liable to that duty.
114. 200 (out of the holding of 1,000) of these were realised on 8 April 1845 for £209.16.3 (from Hoare's bank statements), the excess over £200 presumably being accrued interest.
115. This is the balance at death (£294) plus income after death (including the proceeds of 200 Exchequer Bills, see previous note) less payments since death otherwise than to beneficiaries. The adjustment is the same as the total adjustments of income and expenses later in the Table.
116. We have excluded a payment '3 July 1845 To Mrs C E Austen £273-5-7' on the basis that it is more likely to be a payment to his daughter Cassandra Esten (with a courtesy title of Mrs as she was then aged thirty-six) as it has no obvious connection with Cassandra's estate, and the earlier payment mentioned in the text 'To CE Austen's Es'te' made the connection with the estate clear.
117. See n 79.
118. The sources of these, unless otherwise stated, are wills, legacy duty records, and the Bank of England archives.
119. Le Faye, *Jane Austen A Family Record*, pp.152-53.
120. *Austen Papers*, p.334; Le Faye, *Chronology*, 31 July 1827; letter of 31 July 1827 from James to Mrs Leigh Perrot in HRO 23M93/52/1/11.
121. The Composite Price Index 1750 to 2003 (available on the Bank of England website) was 8.5 in 1794, rose to 16.3 in 1813 (the highest point in this period), an increase of 92%, and fell again to 9.3 by the time of her death in 1845.

The Lefroys in Leghorn

Roy and Lesley Adkins

The English Cemetery in the Italian port city of Leghorn (known today as Livorno) is tucked down a side street leading off the Via Giuseppe Verdi, formerly the Via degli Elisi. Referred to in the eighteenth century as the Protestant Cemetery or the English Burial Ground, it was the final resting place for Protestants in what was a largely Roman Catholic nation. One monument commemorates Anthony Lefroy (1703–79), who was the father-in-law of Anne Lefroy (née Brydges) and the grandfather of Thomas (Tom) Langlois Lefroy. Anne was Tom's aunt, as well as being a close friend of Jane Austen.¹

Anthony Lefroy was descended from a Huguenot family that fled from Cambrai in France to England to escape persecution in the late sixteenth century.² The family settled in Canterbury, where Lefroy was born in 1703. After serving an apprenticeship with a London merchant, he joined a group of Protestant merchants in Leghorn, known as the British Factory. He took a share in the firm of Peter Langlois and became a prosperous merchant and banker. In 1737 Langlois died, and the following year Lefroy married Langlois's daughter, Elizabeth Langlois. They had five children, of whom two boys and a girl survived infancy.³



*The English Cemetery at Leghorn.
Anthony Lefroy's grave monument is in the background (centre).*

In pursuing his interest in antiquities, Lefroy became an expert collector. In 1740 he went into partnership with Peter Charron to import textiles from England, and by 1755 they were agents for Sir Francis Dashwood of West Wycombe, supplying him with antiques and antiquities, especially paintings and statuary. Dashwood was infamous as the leader of a group of libertines known as the Hell Fire Club, which met at Medmenham Abbey. The meetings later moved to his house and grounds at West Wycombe Park, and it was to decorate this property that Dashwood imported antiquities and antiques.⁴ As Janine Barchas has pointed out, with Jane Austen's close links to the Lefroy family, she probably had an insider's knowledge of Sir Francis Dashwood, which may well have inspired her to use his surname for the central family in *Sense and Sensibility*.⁵

The company of Lefroy and Charron went bankrupt in about 1763, and Peter Charron committed suicide in 1772, leaving Anthony Lefroy with debts of £30,000. He abandoned his plans to retire to England, resolving to remain in Leghorn and pay off what was owed. He was still struggling with this almost impossible task when the problem was solved by him winning a substantial prize in the French East India Company's lottery.⁶ The money was received in June 1779, but he died the following month and was buried in the English Cemetery.

The Latin inscription on his monument is based in part on a transcription published anonymously in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1820, when it would have been clearly readable. It was most likely supplied by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, the brother of Anne Lefroy, who visited Anthony Lefroy's tomb at Leghorn that same year while he and his family were living on the Continent due to his dire financial situation.⁷

ANTONIO.LEFROY.CANTVARIENSI.
CLARIS.ORTO.MAIORIBVS.
CVIVS.ANIMVS.A.NATVRA.BENE.INFORMATVS.
IVVENTVTEM.EGIT.IN.LITERIS.
QVI.DEINDE.LIBVRNVM.SE.CONTVLIT.
VBI.MERCATVRAM.EXCOLVIT.
HONESTE.AC.DECORE.
BONARVM.ARTIVM.FAVTOR.ADIVTOR.
STATVAS.TABVLAS.PICTAS.ANTIQVA.NVMISMATA.
SIBI.STVDIOSE.COMPARAVIT.
VIR.AVTEM.BONVS.ET.PRVDENS.
FAMILIAM.PATRIAM.SAPIENTES.VNICE.AMAVIT.
OFFICIA.AVXIT.LIBERALITATE.
MVLTA.PASSVS.ET.GRAVIA.
ÆQVAM.SEMPER.SERVAVIT.MENTEM.
OBIIT.IN.HAC.VRBE.A.MDCCLXXIX.PRID.ID.IVLII.
NATVS.PRID.KAL.IAN.A.MDCCIV.
ELIZABETH.LANGLOIS.CONIVNX.MÆRENS.
VIRO.DIGNO.CARISSIMO.
ANTONIVS.ET.GEORGIVS.FILII.MEMORES.
PATRI.BENEMERENTI.
CVIVS.HIC.IACIT.P.P.⁸

The marble monument consists of an Ionic column that was once surmounted by a capital and a bowl, but which suffered bomb damage in World War Two.⁹ The plinth has an inscription on one side only, and the following is a loose translation:

Sacred to the memory of Anthony Lefroy of Canterbury, who was descended from illustrious ancestors. His mind was well instructed from birth, and he spent his youth in scholarly pursuits. He subsequently devoted himself to Leghorn where, in an honest and seemly way, he was a merchant. He was a patron and supporter of the Fine Arts, assiduously collecting statues, paintings and old coins and medals. Nevertheless, this good and learned man dearly loved his wise family and homeland. He was generous in carrying out his duties. Although he endured many setbacks, he retained a calm mind. He died in this city in the year 1779 on the 14th July. He was born on the 31st December in the year 1703. His wife Elizabeth Langlois grieves for her worthy and most beloved husband. His sons Anthony and George remember their most deserving father whose body lies here.



The inscription on Anthony Lefroy's grave monument.

According to the evidence of the English Vice-Consul, John Udny junior, Anthony Lefroy died on the evening of 13 July 1779 and was interred by him in the English Burial Ground on the evening of the 14th.¹⁰ The dates in the inscription retain

the backward counting system of the 'Old Style' Julian Calendar. Lefroy's date of birth is cited as 'Prid Kal Ian' – the day before the Kalends (1st) of January, which makes 31 December his date of birth. Technically, the year should remain as 1704 (MDCCIV). Instead, this is an example of the confusion in dates that can trip up the scholar and family historian. Lefroy's year of birth actually appears to be 1703 – he was not quite twenty when his father died in November 1723, his marriage took place in February 1738, when he was thirty-four, and he died at the age of seventy-five in July 1779.¹¹

Lefroy's two sons, Anthony Peter and Isaac Peter George (known by his last name), are both mentioned at the end of the inscription.¹² In a letter to George written at Leghorn in March 1780, his mother said that she daily expected the marble mausoleum to arrive for her late husband's grave. She then added what was surely a reply to a query about the date of his birth from George: 'I know he was born the 19th Dec^r. 1703; be pleased to observe the old style, which exactly is the 30th new style.'¹³ This further confuses the date of his birth, as she thought it was 19 December 1703 in the Julian Calendar, equivalent to 30 December after England adopted the Gregorian or New Style calendar in 1752, with the loss of eleven days.

At this stage, there are direct links with Jane Austen, because Anthony Peter was the father of Thomas (Tom) Langlois Lefroy, who was born on 8 January 1776, while the Revd George Lefroy became the husband of Anne Brydges in 1778. Tom is mentioned in the first two surviving letters written by Jane Austen at Steventon to Cassandra. On 9 January 1796 – Cassandra's twenty-third birthday – she referred to the previous day being Tom Lefroy's twentieth birthday, while on the 15th she said: 'At length the Day is come on which I am to flirt my last with Tom Lefroy, & when you receive this it will be over—My tears flow as I write, at the melancholy idea.'¹⁴ Much ink has since flowed in the attempt to explain the relationship between Jane Austen and Tom Lefroy.

Notes

1. See Helen Lefroy and Gavin Turner (eds.) *The Letters of Mrs Lefroy: Jane Austen's Beloved Friend* (Jane Austen Society, 2007), pp.5–6, 237.
2. J.H. Lefroy, *Notes and Documents Relating to the Family of Loffroy of Cambray prior to 1587, of Canterbury 1587–1779, now chiefly represented by the families of Lefroy of Carriglass, Co. Longford, Ireland, and of Itchel, Hants* (Woolwich: privately printed, 1868), pp.x–xiii; see p.240 of J.A.P. Lefroy, 'Anthony Lefroy 1703–1779: Merchant at Leghorn, Collector of Works of Art, Member of the Etrusca Accademia', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 23, 1977, pp.240–51 (this article gives a detailed account of Lefroy's life).
3. Lefroy 1868, pp.42, 197; Lefroy 1977. For the epitaphs of two children, Julia Phoebe and John Benjamin, see Lefroy 1868, p.195, and Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum and Francis Campbell Macauley 1906 *The Inscriptions in the Old British Cemetery of Leghorn* (Leghorn), p.28.

4. Lefroy 1977. See also pp.408–9 and 417 in Tim Knox, ‘Sir Francis Dashwood of West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire, as a Collector of Ancient and Modern Sculpture’, pp.396–419 in *Studies in the History of Art* 70, Symposium Papers XLVII: Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe (National Gallery of Art, 2008).
5. Janine Barchas, *Matters of Fact in Jane Austen* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), chapter 5.
6. Lefroy 1868, pp.69–70, 88, 91; Lefroy 1977, pp.245, 248–9.
7. See p.18 of Robert H. Goodsall, ‘Lee Priory and the Brydges Circle’, *Archaeologia Cantiana* 77, 1962, pp.1–32; Samuel Egerton Brydges, *The autobiography, times, opinions, and contemporaries of Sir Egerton Brydges vol. I* (London: Cochrane and M’Crone, 1834), pp.136–7.
8. The inscription has been pieced together from our own photographs, as well as from *Gentleman’s Magazine* 90 (1820), p.328, Lefroy 1868, p.79, and Milner-Gibson-Cullum and Macauley 1906, pp.17 and 113 (transcribed in 1895 and first published on p.116 of *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* for December 1896).
9. Lefroy 1977, p.248.
10. The National Archives General Register Office: Foreign Registers and Returns, class RG 33, piece 116.
11. Lefroy 1868, pp.26, 35, 42. On p.xlix, a date of 10th December 1703 is given for his birth. See also Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (OUP, 1999), pp.672–3.
12. Lefroy 1868, p.44.
13. Lefroy 1868, p.88.
14. Deirdre Le Faye (ed.) *Jane Austen’s Letters* (OUP, 2011), Letter 1 on p.1 and Letter 2 on p.4.

Uncovering a Piece of Translation History

Hanne Maj Danielsen

In *The Reception of Austen in Europe*, Anthony Mandal and Brian C. Southam provide an overview of worldwide translations of Jane Austen's novels.¹ They assert that France and Germany were the first countries to translate *Pride and Prejudice*, published in England in 1813. Their findings are supported by Marie Sørbo in *Austen Speaks Norwegian*.² Mandal identifies ten Danish translators as the first to translate a new edition of one of Jane Austen's novels into Danish, ending his list in 2006, excluding Vibeke Houstrup. Academics agree that the very first Danish translation was *Sense and Sensibility / Forstand og Hjerte* (1855–56) by W.I. Karup, followed by *Pride and Prejudice / Stolthed og Fordom* (1928–29) by Ebba Brusendorff. *Pride and Prejudice* has subsequently been translated by Lilian Plon (1952) and Vibeke Houstrup (2006).

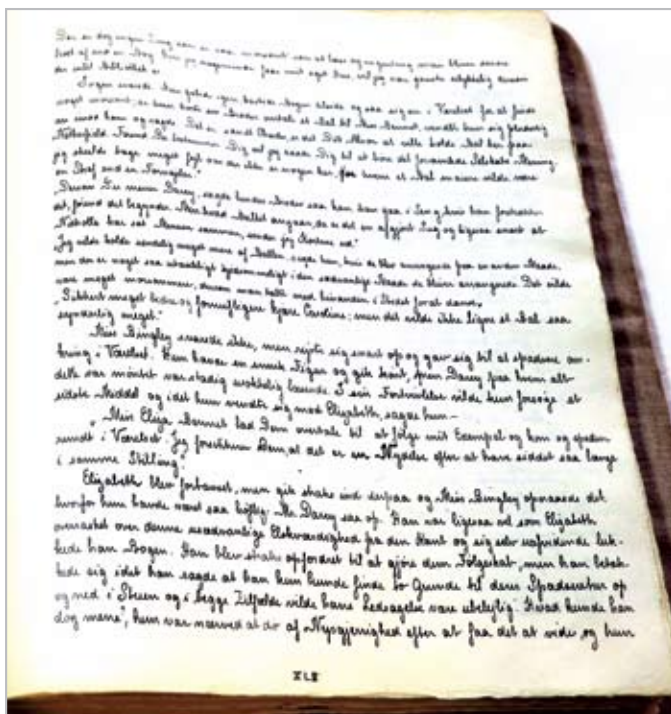
In the spring of 2019, I heard about a previously unknown Danish translation of *Pride and Prejudice* and decided to structure my dissertation around it.³ During the summer of 2020, Jane Austen's House [JAH] very kindly aided me in contacting Aase Fredstrup, who had donated the manuscript to the House. As this translation is still the property of her family, my project required her consent, and in September 2020, I met her at her home on the Danish island of Bornholm. She provided me with the few pieces of information she had regarding the authors of the manuscript. Her donation is perhaps not as 'tent-collapsing'⁴ as when Alberta Burke donated Austen's lock of hair, but to a Dane interested in Austen and translation, it is very close.

As Britain and JAH were closed because of the worldwide pandemic, the museum kindly emailed me photographs of the entire manuscript with its 325 handwritten pages. Transcribing these was a challenge as some of the photos were very difficult to decipher because of the often illegible handwriting and the quality of the photographs.

Volunteers from the Danish Jane Austen Society helped me proof-read the pages, giving me time to research the family history of the translators. I compared and analysed the four translated editions of *Pride and Prejudice*; those by Brusendorff, Plon, Houstrup and, of course, the two sisters. The results are stated in my dissertation and prize paper.⁵

The Fredstrup manuscript

The manuscript is 30cm high, 25cm wide and 3cm thick. The pages are bound in cotton thread. The front and back covers are thin wooden boards, covered in a cotton cloth or linen, not quite as rough as hessian, but with a cross grain running through it. It is a beige colour that has darkened over time. The manuscript has seventeen signatures, that is, groups of pages, held together by satin ribbon ties.



A random page in the Fredstrup manuscript



The manuscript's front cover and the inner side of the front cover



*The manuscript's back cover with its embroidered 1904
and the inner side of the back cover*



The signatures tied together

On each side of the front and back cover, there are exquisitely embroidered vines and flowers. Inside the fly leaf is an *ex libris* pen and ink plate. In general, the stitches used are made with flat stitching. Mille Fleur chain stitch is used for the small flowers along the edges. The beautiful large flower on the inner side of the back cover is created using delicate needle painting with scatter stitches on some of the leaves, shown by the changes in colour. The technique employed to create the large green stems is called 'passé empiétant' in French, and in English silk shading, and uses stem-stitches or perhaps outline stitches. The colours are white,

lavender / mauve, and green. The thread is probably mercerised cotton or silk. These amateur covers with their striking illustrations are stunning and as good as any professional covers.

The Fredstrup sisters meticulously reproduced the illustrations, and Margrethe embroidered 'illustreret af [illustrated by] Charles Brock' on the front cover. Their manuscript contains all forty illustrations from the original 1895 Macmillan edition.



*'Hun er passabel, men ikke smuk nok til at friste mig' (Bébé and Margrethe, 1904)
and 'She is tolerable; but not handsome enough to tempt me'
(C. E. Brock, 1895)*

Fredstrup family history

Bébé and Margrethe's family history is as dramatic and exciting as any told in an eighteenth or nineteenth century novel. It is a story of aristocracy, mansions, money and power, bankruptcy, seduction (possibly rape) of a young woman, suicides, the theatre and the ballet. It tells of women in a once noble family, reduced to a genteel family short of money and having to find ways to earn a living.⁶

The story begins with Leopold Theodor Barner of Algestrup-Egemarke (1761–1809), groom-in-waiting to King Christian VII of Denmark, and his daughter Frideriche von Barner.⁷ By the time she was a teenager, the family fortune had been spent. In June 1808, Leopold travelled to the capital with nineteen-year-old Frideriche, to meet with the rich and powerful Erich Erichsen to negotiate a loan. Between 1808 and the 1820s, Erichsen lent vast sums of money to the Danish government on more than one occasion.⁸ Leopold and the young Frideriche stayed for a couple of days with Erichsen in his mansion. It is known that Leopold returned to Algestrup without the required funding, but with something he did not expect. Nine months later Frideriche gave birth to a son. The family tried to

hide the pregnancy, but informed Erichsen of the child. Erichsen never publicly acknowledged his son, but after a month, a carriage rolled into the Algestrup courtyard to fetch the child and take him away to the north of Zealand, where the boy, Jacob, was raised in foster care. Leopold was devastated and died by his own hand; soon afterwards Frideriche followed her father to the grave; drowning herself in a deep lake nearby. She was buried in unconsecrated ground next to her father.

Jacob was well cared for; he visited his father privately and Erichsen paid for him to receive a proper education and gain a degree as a legal scholar. Jacob became acquainted with the large, artistic Fredstrup family, most of whom were employed at some stage by the Danish Royal Theatre at Kongens Nytorv, close to Erichsen's mansion. Jacob married not one but three of stage-manager Hans Carl Jørgen Fredstrup's ballet-dancing daughters. Jacob's youngest daughter, Josephine married her mother's half-brother, her uncle, Axel Fredstrup, stage director of the theatre, and they had five children: Dorothea (Bébé), Carl, Svend, Margrethe and Knud.⁹

Bébé and Margrethe Fredstrup

Just like the genteel female characters in Austen's novels, the sisters were schooled at home whereas the sons went to private schools. All the siblings obtained a degree, except Svend who went to sea before settling down as an archivist. Bébé first tried her luck at the Royal Theatre like her siblings and parents, but her career in the theatre was short. A census shows that she was living in France in February 1890, probably as a part of her training as a private school mistress. Later Bébé went to England to look after a small girl, Gertrud, whose father ignored her and whose mother had died. Family tradition has it that Bébé was in England for possibly eight years, although it is difficult to identify an eight-year period within her lifetime.

Margrethe graduated in December 1894 as an organ player after three years at The Royal Danish Academy of Music. The sisters also studied together at a convent school in France, where they taught lessons to help pay for their accommodation and tuition. Although the exact date is not known, it was probably during 1890. When they returned home, they decided to try their skills at teaching at the Nyborg Døttreskole (a private school for daughters of the gentility) in Nyborg, on the Danish island of Funen. After some years Dorothea took charge of the school as Principal. The sisters taught French, needlework and other subjects considered necessary for young genteel women to know. They went bankrupt in approximately 1906 and had to close the school. It was revealed in 1902 that their uncle, a banker, to whom Josephine's money and her children's inheritance had been entrusted, had misappropriated their funds, making it essential for the sisters to find other employment.

Bébé obtained a position as a home tutor to the children of Vice Admiral Richelieu. He was one of the richest men in Denmark until he was convicted of gross negligence in 1923 and fined heavily by the Danish Supreme Court. Next, according to family notes, Bébé went to Paris in the late 1920s to work for the

Marquis de Seilac as a governess to his nine-year-old daughter. As the little girl's health suffered in the Parisian air, she and Bébé lived most of the time in the de Seilac chateau. Shortly before the commencement of the Spanish Revolution (1936), the Seilac family and Bébé travelled to the Marquis's plantation in French Morocco. During WWII, Bébé remained with the family at the Moroccan chateau. She succeeded in visiting Denmark and the Fredstrups one last time before one day, according to family legend, 'overcome by fatigue' at the age of eighty, she lay down on her bed and died. Bébé is buried in Morocco.

Margrethe's life story is less glamorous. After the Døttreskole failure, she lived for a couple of years in the north of France playing the organ for nuns in a convent. On her return to Denmark, she worked for the Royal Theatre, but from the moment they sacked her, she never touched an organ or a piano again. She was very dexterous and for many years she earned her money binding books for the wealthy in Copenhagen. Margrethe shared a flat in the city with her brother Knud for the rest of her life, along with their mother, who lived with them until she died. Margrethe became senile in her final years and died in 1957. Neither she nor Bébé ever married, as no man could ever compete with their father.



A Barner Fredstrup family photograph c.1905 (Courtesy of Aase B. Fredstrup)

The Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*

There are three key reasons for taking an interest in Bébé and Margrethe's translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. First, the historic importance of Jane Austen and her novels. Second, this translation was made by two female amateurs at the start of the twentieth century, following a period of dislike, even hatred, of anything British, due to their destruction of Copenhagen, the capture of the Danish

fleet and the resulting bankruptcy of Denmark in the Napoleonic Wars. Finally, the sisters were disadvantaged by the low priority given to educating women in a nation where the English language was overshadowed by French. In the nineteenth century, knowledge of English was not common, although seamen, merchants and other people with direct contact with native English speakers were able to understand and possibly speak the language. Bébé and Margrethe's translation was a major accomplishment at this time and one that cannot be underestimated. Jane Austen would surely have been impressed by the sisters' application and determination and gratified by their enjoyment of her second novel.

Fredstrup family legend has it that after reading *Pride and Prejudice*, Bébé and Margrethe, said to their mother, 'You should really read this novel'. As no Danish version existed in the early twentieth century, the sisters meticulously translated it for her. Their mother received the finished project on or near the 4 July 1904. Later she passed it to her daughter-in-law, from whom Aase Barner Fredstrup, Bébé and Margrethe's grandniece and the donor of the manuscript, inherited it.

Peter Mortensen writes that '[i]n the last half of the nineteenth century an important reshaping of Danish culture took place when as a result of complex political, economic and military developments, Denmark began to loosen its traditionally strong ties with Germany and seek a closer alliance with the English-speaking world.'¹⁰ He suggests that Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), i.e., *Forstand og Hjerte* (1855–56), written at the height of the French Revolution, was chosen for translation by W.I. Karup and L. Jorden to stress British *sense* vs. Franco-German *sensibility*, signalling 'Denmark's attempt to re-position itself in relation to Britain and its Continental rival nations';¹¹ the Karup rendition helped fertilise 'the soil for middle-class Danes' hesitant embrace of English values'. Novels and reading were part of this cultural reshaping, and so was Austen.

As mentioned in the introduction, I based my dissertation and later my prize paper on the Fredstrup sisters' manuscript and made many analyses and comparisons to enable me to reach a judgement on the extent to which the amateur translation is comparable to the three professional ones. My conclusion is that despite the sisters' background and restricted education their version is impressive and compares well, perhaps at times even better, with the early professional translations made by Ebba Brusendorff and Lilian Plon. However, Vibeke Houstrup's translation is still significantly the best of all the Danish translations of *Pride and Prejudice*.

When next you visit Jane Austen's House, take the time to see this remarkable translation achieved by arguably the two earliest Austen fans in Denmark. Perhaps you will become as fascinated by it as I am.

Notes

1. Mandal, Anthony, and B. C. Southam, eds. 2007. *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*. The Athlone Critical Traditions Series. New York, NY: Continuum International Pub. Group, xxi-xxxvi, p.26.

2. Sørbø, Marie N. 2018. *Jane Austen Speaks Norwegian: The Challenges of Literary Translation*. Costerus New Series 219. Boston. 2018, p.216.
3. My dissertation was submitted late May 2021, and an enlarged version submitted as a prize paper in January 2022 won me a gold medal, which was presented to me in the presence of our Queen Margrethe II. This is an immense honour; I feel grateful to the Fredstrup sisters for sowing the seeds that I have harvested.
4. Reynolds, Sophie. 'Jane Austen's House at 70: 1949-2019'. *Annual Report*, 2019.
5. I have two publications available on Amazon. One contains the full story of the sisters and their family members, the transcription and my backtranslation (All profits from this sale go directly to JAH). The other contains my full prize paper and all its analyses etc. https://www.amazon.com/dp/B09XSTLNZJ?ref=pe_3052080_397514860 https://www.amazon.com/dp/8789288092?ref=pe_3052080_397514860.
6. My research into the Fredstrup family history goes back to the middle of the seventeen hundreds and shows their aristocratic roots.
7. Only a tiny part of the Fredstrup family history will be narrated here. For the full story, including the ghost story and the family's connection to H.C. Andersen, the author, please read my publications.
8. In 1813, Denmark experienced a national bankruptcy due to the war with Britain.
9. Only the sons inherited the 'Barner' surname.
10. Mortensen, Peter. 2006. "'Forstand Og Hjerte", or: How Danes Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Jane Austen'. In *Literary Translation: World Literature of 'Worlding' Literature*, pp.53-54. Museum Tusculanum Press.
11. *Ibid.* p.54.

Edward Knight II – “The Fine old English Gentleman”

Jane Hurst

On Tuesday 25 February 1840, a small group of farmers and landowners met at Alton Town Hall to form the North East Hants Agricultural Association (NEHAA). Edward Knight of Chawton House, nephew of Jane Austen, was in the Chair and later in the meeting he was elected as the first President of the Association – a position which he held for thirty-nine years until his death in 1879.

The Association was formed with two objects in mind: the advancement of agricultural knowledge in this part of Hampshire and to improve and benefit the labourers in agriculture. The first events organised were a ‘competition in ploughing’ and a ‘Grand Lamb Market’ – the latter being held on The Butts in Alton. One of the prizes was presented by Edward.

Not all of the meetings were attended by Edward, although he was always present at the AGM and the Annual Dinner. When he was there, he took the Chair and, in 1841, he was ably assisted by Vice Chairmen Henry Chawner of Newton Valence, John Wood of Thedden, Robert Cole of Holybourne and Joseph Martineau of Basing Park. Most of the most prominent farmers of the area became members of the Association.

According to *Chawton Manor and its Owners* by Montagu George Knight and William Austen Leigh, Edward

was the principal founder and President of the NE Hants Agricultural Association which owes its prosperity greatly to the active interest he took in its management. All who have attended the annual dinners of the Society must have remarked the spontaneous heartiness with which the toast of his health was always met by members, and how the song “The Fine old English Gentleman” followed with singular appropriateness.¹

In September 1845, changes had to be made to the arrangements for the Annual Dinner. As Alton Town Hall was being repaired, it was agreed that the Swan Inn be used, although the Committee recorded ‘that in all future cases the Town hall should be used or the interests of the Association might be compromised by being held at Hotels or Inns’. The dinner for the ploughmen cost 1s 6d [7p] a head, Mr Dyer the builder was to ‘fit up the Room as usual’ and Thomas Dowden was asked to attend with a portion of the band.

Each year there was quite a large number of Classes in which workers were entered. In 1847, Edward recommended William Pink in Class A which was for ‘Labourers who have maintained the largest Families respectably, with the smallest amount of Parochial relief (illness excepted)’. William was awarded the first prize but there is a note in the margin of the minutes which reads ‘disqualified having obtained a prize in this Class before’, which seems a little unfair – it had been five years since he had won £3. Luckily though, Edward had also recommended

Thomas Meacham for Class A and he came third and was given £1.

In fact, two more of Edward's workers also won prizes that year: John Canner in Class C, 'for Single Labourers who have been in Service for the longest period, and shall have voluntarily afforded the most material Aid or Support to their relatives', and William Oakley in Class H, 'for the shepherd of a dry flock, who shall have preserved the greatest number of sheep during the previous year'.

Results from other years give an idea of some of the locals who worked on Edward's estate. In 1848, winners included William Marsh in Class B, 'labourers in husbandry, who have been employed for the longest period on the same farms'; Edward Stacey in Class C (see above), Thomas Bramley in Class F, 'the agricultural labourer over 60 years of age, or disabled cottager, who was an agricultural labourer, having good character for honesty and sobriety', and Kerenhappuch Marsh, 'female agricultural domestic servant who had been in service the longest period with the same master or mistress', after working thirty-nine years for Edward.

Many Chawton men and women were still employed into their old age. In the 1850s, William Garnett was seventy-nine, William Berry sixty-one and Mary Gillett sixty-five. Others mentioned as gaining a prize were Daniel Stacey, William Hiller, and John Oakley. 1851 was the first year in which Edward's brother, the Revd Charles Bridges Knight, Rector of Chawton, entered two winning labourers – George Andrews and Thomas Stacey.

In 1854, Edward recommended William Hiller for Class G – 'the shepherd who shall have reared and weaned the greatest number of lambs, in proportion to the number of ewes; such flock to consist of not less than one-fourth two-toothed ewes'. William was awarded £1.

Among the local news in the Hampshire Chronicle of 9 January 1864 was a note reporting

Our readers will be glad to learn that a movement is on foot to mark the services of Edward Knight, Esq. of Chawton House, whose life has been distinguished, no less by an unostentatious and practical benevolence towards the poor, than by a courteous and conciliatory demeanour to those occupying a higher rank in life, and as an enduring mark of the high respect and esteem entertained for him, and in grateful recognition of his many public services and great public worth in all the relations of that truly English character – an independent and high-principled resident landowner and country gentleman. Mr Knight has been requested, and, we are pleased to learn, has consented to sit for his portrait to the eminent artist F. Grant, Esq. R.A. and it is proposed that the picture, after exhibition at the Royal Academy, shall be placed in the Town Hall in Alton. A subscription list is now open at the banks in the town, and we have no doubt the call will be cordially responded to.

The above seems to suggest that this project was being organised by a general group of people in the area, but, nine months later, there was a report of the NEHAA's Annual Meeting and Dinner where they were amused during the evening by the efforts of Mr W Shilton of Chawton and colleagues 'who introduced a varied

selection of vocal and instrumental harmony ... Rev C B Knight replied to the toast to the Clergy ... Capt. Knight replied to toast the Army' and mention was made of a three-quarters length portrait which was to be presented to 'Mrs Knight and family'. Sadly though, she was 'unavoidably absent from slight indisposition'. Edward explained that 'her health was in such a condition that she could not venture to risk what would cause her so much excitement'.



*Edward Knight of Chawton House, by F Grant, Esq.
Courtesy of Richard Knight and Chawton House.*

The artist 'F Grant, Esq.' was Sir Francis Grant (1803-1878). Born in Scotland, he was educated at Harrow and, eventually, became a painter. First he gained a

reputation for sporting subjects; later he changed to portraits, Queen Victoria sat to him in 1843. Other sitters included the Prince of Wales, Benjamin Disraeli, Viscount Palmerston and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of the 253 works that were exhibited at the Royal Academy, many were full-length portraits. A lithograph of Edward Knight's picture was show at the Academy in 1865, as no.868.

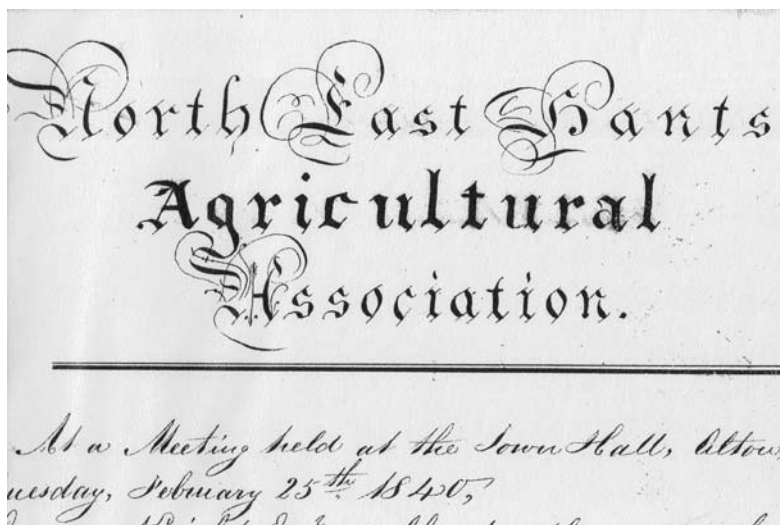
This presentation marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the NEHAA and forty years since Edward had come to reside in the neighbourhood. He continued to support the Association until his death on 5 November 1879.

In later years, the NEHAA put on a Christmas Show and the Agricultural Show that was so popular until it ceased a few years ago. The Association no longer functions and most of its records and archives are now in the Hampshire Record Office (HRO) although a collection of duplicate items are held in the Local Studies Area of the Curtis Museum in Alton.

Notes

1. Austen Leigh, William and Montagu George Knight, *Chawton Manor and Its Owners*. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1911, p.174.)

Subsequent references are to uncatalogued NEHAA papers at Hampshire Record Office, currently numbered 90A22.



Part of the first page of the NEHAA minutes.

The Comedians: Jane Austen's 'good actors' *Liston, Dowton, Emery and Mathews*

Angela Barlow

Among all the comments in her letters about well-known actors of her day, Jane Austen mentions comedians only twice. Yet on both occasions she praises them to the detriment of the 'straight' actors, the heroines of the plays in question. On 25 April 1811, she was 'well entertained' by a performance of *The Hypocrite*,¹ where 'Dowton & Mathews were the good actors', while 'M^{rs} Edwin was the Heroine—& her performance is just what it used to be'.² In March 1814 Austen saw *The Farmer's Wife*,³ starring the actress/singer Miss Stephens, who 'gave me no pleasure . . . All that I am sensible of in Miss S. is a pleasing person & no skill in acting.—We had Mathews, Liston & Emery; of course, some amusement'.⁴

Jane Austen, in using the words 'good actors', realised that raising a laugh requires as much 'skill in acting' as bringing an audience to tears. Comedy actors had as strong a following as tragedians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet while the names of Siddons, Kean and Kemble have gone down in history, the four comedians we know Jane Austen saw are rarely remembered today. This article takes a brief look at their lives and work in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Comedians

John Liston (1776-1846), **William Dowton** (1764-1851), **John Emery** (1777-1822) and **Charles Mathews** (1776-1835), may have been known in their time as 'comedians', but they were in fact authentic actors who appeared mainly in comic roles, in plays ranging from Shakespeare to musical burlesque. Their great talent was not only to deliver a line in order to amuse, but to know how to build a believable, rounded character – naturally with the assistance of carefully selected props, costumes and wigs. These four men usually appeared in 'low comedy', with occasional forays into the higher realms, the word 'low' referring to servants, farmers, and working-class men generally. Women comics did exist, as did other male ones, but they are outside the scope of this essay.

Liston, a supreme low comedy performer, used broad characterisation in his Cockneys, preachers and in his prize creation, the busybody Paul Pry; he only had to show his well-known face onstage to set his audience laughing. His older colleague Dowton was admired for his truth and versatility, and considered by critic Leigh Hunt to be 'the greatest living comedian out of the direct pale of gentility', his role as Cantwell in *The Hypocrite* being 'one of the few perfect pieces of acting on the stage'.⁵



William Dowton by Robert Cooper. Stipple engraving, 1822.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

Emery, meanwhile, was a true-to-life portrayeur of rustics, ‘remarkable’ when he combined the serious and pathetic, said Hunt; William Hazlitt called his trademark role of Tyke in *The School of Reform*, by Thomas Morton, ‘a work of genius’.⁶ Mathews stands in a class of his own, as he came to forsake permanent contracts at Drury Lane or Covent Garden so as to tour his solo ‘At Home’ shows, playing every character in as many as fifty short scenarios in a three-to-four-hour entertainment. His memoirs give us an exceptional and detailed account of his working methods and his extraordinary genius as an imitator.⁷

In their long careers, they worked together on tour, at Covent Garden, Drury Lane and the Haymarket theatres, sometimes overlapping roles, sometimes playing opposite each other, apparently in easy comradeship, yet with very different backgrounds and upbringing. How did they all come to be in one place, and one profession?

Early lives

John Liston's family had no theatre connections; his Soho-based father was a watchmaker – or according to some sources, a worker in the customs house. Nonetheless, John's theatre indoctrination came early: he was sent to one of the best schools in London, the Soho School of Dr Barwis and Dr Barrow, known for its performances of Shakespeare's plays. What better grounding for an actor? And John was not the only pupil to make a career on the boards. John Bannister, a contemporary comedian (1760-1836), was another. In addition, John Liston received instruction in drawing, painting and possibly dancing and fencing.⁸ With his natural talent and an odd, expressive face, he soon graduated to amateur dramatic societies and thence to an appearance at Weymouth playing an aristocrat in *The Heir at Law* – a dismal failure. He doubtless learned from this, for he soon gained professional work in good provincial theatres, mainly in serious roles, leading to three years' employment in Stephen Kemble's company in Newcastle. Once Kemble (brother to star actors Sarah Siddons and John Philip Kemble) cast him as the awkward servant Diggory in *She Stoops to Conquer*, John discovered this sort of humorous part was his strength, and in due course, in 1805, was engaged to appear for two seasons at London's Haymarket Theatre. He was twenty-three.⁹

William Dowton began his career in true romantic fashion: he ran away from home at seventeen to be an actor. It is unlikely that his father, a grocer and innkeeper, had thespian plans for William, as he had first put him to work for a local marble cutter and then artiled him to an architect in Exeter, where the family lived. William thus brought an unusual mix of life experience to his new calling. His parents' reaction to his defection is unknown.

The troupe of strolling players he joined was appearing that week in a barn in Ashburton; they probably were lacking a male juvenile actor, as the inexperienced William was immediately given a leading part, Don Carlos, in a Spanish tragedy, *The Revenge*. Although he suffered a period of physical hardship during this gypsy life, he would have enjoyed for the first time the companionship of his fellow players. However, he was not fated to spend his life on the road, because when we next hear of him he is working in 'real' theatres in Weymouth and Exeter, playing main roles in Shakespeare. A change of direction came in Mrs Sarah Baker's touring company, in Kent. This dynamic woman, once an illiterate fairground performer, now a seasoned – and rich – entrepreneur, had the foresight to cast William in a run of comedy characters, where, like Liston, he found his metier. Eventually, in 1796, aged thirty-two, he attracted the attention of the Drury Lane manager and joined the company, playing Sheva in *The Jew* to the satisfaction of the audience – and the management, who employed him for thirty-six years.¹⁰

A theatrical background can often be an advantage to a promising actor, and so it was to **John Emery**. Born in Sunderland to a pair of provincial thespians, his schooling was curtailed in favour of a musical education, leading to his first stage appearance, aged twelve, playing violin in the orchestra at Brighton Theatre.



John Emery by Samuel Raven. Oil on glass, c. 1819.
 © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Quite naturally, he slipped into acting parts in that same theatre, his debut as Old Crazy in *Peeping Tom* introducing him to the delights of farce. The scene was now set for John to work alongside his parents, usually portraying country lads; this he did until the celebrated manager Tate Wilkinson saw his work, liked what he saw and took him off to the York circuit, predicting a great future for him. There he became the ‘established favourite’ for four years,¹¹ crossing paths with Mathews for a short while during the latter’s York debut, when they became friends. Mathews mentions that Emery’s ‘best line of acting is “countrymen”, Zekiel Homespun, Frank Oatland, etc. He is fond of “old men”, of which Crazy, Nicholas, and such feeble men are best’.¹² And indeed, Wilkinson was proved right when, in 1802 at the age of twenty-five, John was asked to replace another actor at Covent Garden in the comedy *A Cure for the Heartache*, and stayed for twenty-four years.

Charles Mathews’ *Memoirs*, brilliantly edited by Mrs Mathews (née Anne Jackson), give a much fuller account of his life than exists for his three peers.¹³ His father, a Methodist book seller with a shop in the Strand, had never seen a play and disapproved strongly of the theatre and actors, intending his son to follow him into the book trade. Charles grew up in a house of talk, absorbing the discussion and dissent between his father’s Evangelist cronies and his mother’s Church of England ministers. This and the classical education he received at Merchant Tailors School may have given him the facility for words that he used in his future acting and writing career. On the other hand, his sensitive nature, as boy and man, meant that he remembered for the rest of his life the floggings

at school and the brave rebellion by older boys that resulted in having the whip outlawed there for good.

Unknown to his father, Charles became infected early with the idea of acting, when, at his French evening class, dramas were acted out – in English – and Charles' eyes were opened to new possibilities. He was already a clever mimic, taking off what he termed the 'canting hypocrites' of his father's gospel preachers and, notoriously, the local eel man. An older boy, Robert William Elliston, later star and manager of Drury Lane Theatre, dazzled the French class when he played Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, with all the assurance of a professional. At home, the inspired Charles would jump up on the shop counter in his father's absence, and perform impersonations for the staff.

At fourteen his secret determination to see a play resulted in an ecstatic evening watching Shakespeare with his friend Litchfield. His future was decided. At that time 'private' theatres offered amateur actors a leading part in a play – for a price. The boys paid £15 to appear in Richard III, Litchfield as Richard, Charles as Richmond. Spurred on by the uproarious reaction they received from the audience at their unintentionally hilarious sword fight, Charles thought it best to turn towards comedy. As he said, 'Low comedy flamed high within me.'¹⁴ Somehow, at seventeen, and long apprenticed to his father, he obtained an engagement with Daly at the Dublin theatre, salary to depend on his success. Now he had to tell his father the truth, that he was leaving home to become an actor. After a difficult interview, his parents subsidised him to travel to Ireland and set up in lodgings.

So it began. But London was still nine years away for Charles. His parts as a 'Walking Gentleman' – an 'extra' – hardly satisfied him, yet his build, that of a tall, 'thin, awkward youth',¹⁵ didn't recommend him as a leading man. In among the inappropriate small roles assigned to him – nineteen in two months¹⁶ – some better character ones came his way. He watched and learned and built up his store of imitations, sometimes daringly importing impressions of other actors into his play characters. Still it was not enough. In the recess, he packed up and set off for home, intending to take up his job in the bookshop, but was delayed by bad weather at Swansea, where someone asked him to appear in the show at the local theatre. It went so well, that he stayed on for a season and only left for other, better opportunities, though still in the provinces. Tate Wilkinson engaged him for the York circuit, and although he reckoned Charles to be 'too tall for low comedy' (not, I think, intended as a pun), Charles became the company's principal comedian, once his friend and mentor John Emery left for Covent Garden in 1798.

Years passed. Charles married and was widowed. He experienced ill health, occasionally suffering from what he called 'fits'. Leeds, Doncaster, Wakefield, Hull, all recognised his talent, but he despaired of ever reaching London. At long last, in 1803, his chance arrived: George Colman, manager of the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, offered him a contract from May to September, at a salary, after negotiation, of ten shillings a week, and, after further negotiation, a job

in the company for Charles' fiancée, actress Anne Jackson. Charles would be a comparatively old newcomer at twenty-six, but it was worth the wait.¹⁷

London

1805: Now all four men were working in London, where their paths would cross over a period of many years, both as friends and colleagues.

Early nineteenth-century London theatre carried a rather different repertoire from the one we know today: for example, the plays of Shakespeare seem not to have been considered at all highbrow; frequent productions gave the serious actors opportunities to 'emote' by delivering idiosyncratic line readings with 'tragic' voice and gesture – which the public waited for, cried over and applauded, season after season. The same applied to the oft-repeated melodramas: comparisons were drawn between performers' abilities to provide 'feeling'. The diarist Henry Crabb Robinson 'wished not to see Miss O'Neill in a character [Isabella] in which I had seen Mrs Siddons, for who could bear such a trial?'¹⁸ Jane Austen, knowing the play and expecting to weep, took two handkerchiefs to watch Miss O'Neill, but to her disappointment needed neither of them.¹⁹ Comedy also offered chances for actors to personalise their roles, by injecting inventive bits of 'business', and embellishing a performance with gestures, ad libs and facial expressions. Playwrights Richard Sheridan and Oliver Goldsmith provided what are now classic five-acters, such as the witty *The Rivals* and *She Stoops to Conquer*, with strong roles for Dowton and Liston as Sir Anthony Absolute and Tony Lumpkin respectively, which they made their own. George Colman the Younger wrote many humorous plays with his favourite comic actors in mind. But outnumbering these were the dozens of light entertainments now lost to view, such as the two-act farces *Killing no Murder* (T.E. Hook) and *The Prize* (P. Hoare), where Liston and Mathews displayed their celebrated onstage rapport, squeezing out every drop of humour as they 'played off each other'. Farces and burlesques were frequently given as after-pieces, the latter punctuated with songs. A popular actor was one who could sing well and engage the audience. Liston was one of these.

Private Lives

When Mathews, the last of the four, arrived in London in 1805, the first, Dowton, had been established at Drury Lane for nine years. He was now forty-two and had acquired a mature confidence in his work. His success as the crusty Sir Anthony Absolute (a performance 'not to be surpassed')²⁰ was to bring him the nickname 'Sir Anthony' among his peers, possibly giving us an idea of his personality – a well-known anecdote has him throwing his wig into the fire in a temper.²¹ Dowton worked at Drury Lane for the rest of his career, but he was no stick-in-the-mud: at seventy-two he travelled to America to play Falstaff. He had married an actress, Sarah (Sally) Baker, daughter of the Mrs Baker who had given him work on the Canterbury circuit, and when she (the older Sarah) died, Dowton became the manager of two of her theatres. Sally bore him two sons, one became an actor, the other a manager.

Liston also married an actress, leaving Emery as the odd man out, since Mathews had wed Anne Jackson before arriving in London. Sarah Tyrer already had a career as a singer in light opera and burlesque when she met Liston, marrying him in 1807 and working under his name thereafter. His magnificent talent benefited from that deadpan face of his, but a portrait of him by an unknown artist shows him as himself; he is standing beside a fine snuff box with portraits of the King and Queen on the lid, possibly a gift from George III or more likely from the Prince Regent, who is known to have admired Liston.²² Toby jugs, china, handkerchiefs, shop signs, all depicted Paul Pry, Liston's signature role.²³ Liston's salary reflected his popularity and fame – £40 a week at Drury Lane – topping even that of any contemporary tragedian. Yet his spirits were often low and he could be neurotic, taking quantities of brandy during a performance, possibly for stage fright. Both he and Emery were great drinkers.

Emery himself could be a jovial companion, who enjoyed the society of jockeys and pugilists, presumably as drinking partners; and if this suggests a rough and ready character, note that he also had a quieter, artistic streak, painting seascapes to a high standard and even exhibiting at the Royal Academy. His music never left him; he wrote humorous songs and sang in a fine tenor voice, while looking like one of the farmers he portrayed so accurately. Covent Garden kept him for twenty-odd years, during which time he played rustic comedy and tragedy with equal excellence. In 1804 he became a volunteer in the Army, 'for when Boney comes', which would have meant serving in the ranks in combat, had war come to Britain.²⁴ His wife, Anne Thompson, daughter of a tradesman, bore seven children, one of whom, Samuel Anderson Emery, became an actor.

Mathews' youthful first marriage to fellow-player Eliza Strong ended sadly, with her death from tuberculosis. His second to actress Anne Jackson proved to be his life-saver. She believed in him, brought stability to him, and, after his death, devoted herself to writing a four-volume memoir about his acting work. Although he early made his mark at the Haymarket and Drury Lane in comedy high and low, his astonishing impersonations were begging to be let out, and in 1808 he gave in to them, producing his first solo show, 'At Home with Charles Mathews', and making a new career in that vein. This diversion – though received with much admiration – led to controversy among a few critics: could Mathews really *act* or was he just a mimic? Dedicated as he was to his calling, opinions mattered to him, and he was gratified when Hunt called his Fretful Plagiary in *The Critic* at the Haymarket in 1807 'perfect', and 'the finest performance we have witnessed for a long time'.²⁵ 'Testy, fond, doting old men, starved lacqueys [sic], starched sectarians and divers other eccentric characters, find in him a very humorous representative . . . he is perfectly free from grimace and extravagance,' remarked a reviewer.²⁶ A 'mimic' he was not, he insisted; an 'imitator' was his preferred description, because he delved into the thoughts and feelings of his characters. 'His adeptness at filling out the parts which others wrote for him as mere sketches implies a mixture of observation and imagination . . .'²⁷

An unnamed malady dogged him throughout life as did a habit of being

accident-prone. On two occasions the heavy theatre curtain was let down on his head, and a carriage upset left him permanently and painfully lame, but in the way of actors, he performed his shows through every mishap and illness. Among his friends his height and skinny frame earned him the nickname 'Stick'. He describes in his *Memoirs* the occasion when as an infant he grimaced so heartily in a 'fit' that his mouth took a turn to one side. So noticeable was it that the comedian Lewis remarked 'He has no regular mouth but speaks through a little hole in his cheek',²⁸ tactfully concealed in Peale's portrait.



Charles Mathews by Rembrandt Peale, c. 1822.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

His passion outside acting was his extensive collection of theatrical portraits. Mathews' Gallery, built alongside his cottage, drew many visitors to its doors, and the collection now hangs at the Garrick Club. He had one son, actor and writer, Charles James Mathews (26 December 1803 - 24 June 1878).

Jane Austen

Was it in 1805 that Jane Austen first saw Liston, Dowton, Emery and Mathews perform? She clearly knew of their work before writing the two letters quoted above (1811 and 1814), but when accompanied to plays by her sister Cassandra she would have had no need to record an account of them, so the evidence is small. During the years between 1805 and 1811 her letters are almost entirely from family homes at Bath, Southampton and Godmersham, but a visit to her brother Henry at Brompton in autumn 1808 would have allowed a theatre outing and we can assume there were others. She was a stern critic but seemed to like all genres of entertainment. Over two days in 1813 she enjoyed the five-act comedy

of manners *The Clandestine Marriage* by Garrick and Colman the Elder, a pantomime *Don Juan, or the Libertine Destroyed*, and *Midas*, an English burletta or comic opera by Kane O'Hara.²⁹ Mathews and Liston sometimes appeared in *Midas*, but no cast is mentioned by Austen on this occasion.

Sometimes an actor would take a part that another had played to acclaim in a previous season, for example, first Mathews then Liston played Maw-Worm, the would-be preacher, in *The Hypocrite*; Jane Austen saw Mathews' version, into which he had without warning one night inserted a new sermon, which he passed on to Liston. Judging from their portraits in the role, and their style, their interpretations were dissimilar, Liston's almost grotesque, Mathews' more restrained. In another instance, Ben in *Love for Love* was given different readings by Downton and Emery.



‘Mr John Liston as Maw-Worm in the *Hypocrite*’ (early nineteenth century). Harry Beard Collection. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Often, the comedians would be cast together in the same play. Here we have:
The Prize (P. Hoare), Mathews & Liston;
The Birthday (A. C. Kotzebue), Liston & Emery;
The Provoked Husband (Cibber & Vanbrugh), Liston & Emery;
The Hypocrite (Isaac Bickerstaff), Dowton & Mathews;
Love for Love (William Congreve), Mathews & Emery, (and on another occasion: Mathews, Liston & Dowton).
 These are just a few of the dozens, maybe hundreds, of parts and plays these actors carried in their heads.

As an example of the opinion of a knowledgeable theatre-goer, rather than a professional critic, here are Crabb Robinson's views of two performances of *Love for Love*, the first on 18 March 1813: 'Mathews by admirable acting gave to Foresight a significance and truth which was strikingly contrasted with the unmeaning insipidity of the other characters except Emery as Ben.' On 24 April 1828 he wrote: 'The rich dialogue so unlike the unmeaning talk of modern sentimental plays was quite a treat, being well delivered and also being at the same time perfectly dramatic – Liston's Ben the Sailor better than mere buffoonery – It was good acting . . . Mathews the prognosticating old cuckold Foresight was never extravagant or out of keeping . . . Dowton's Sir Sampson Legend – not so discriminating . . .' To keep these performances fresh over fifteen years and more took skill and hard work. In parenthesis, the work was not always hard: Mathews and Liston shared a love of practical jokes, and it is inconceivable that this frivolity never strayed into their stage duologues that gave an audience such pleasure.

Shakespeare

Austen is believed to have been fond of Shakespeare's works. How would she have found the acting of the comic characters? The Bard's 'clowns' are now considered a challenge to perform, as the funny lines often have little twenty-first-century relevance. She might have approved of Liston's interpretations; he had an intrinsically comical presence, and always looked into the detail of his parts – though some critics felt he occasionally verged on caricature.³⁰ The number of his Shakespearian roles (not all in Austen's lifetime) may point to his success; among others were: Bottom, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Cloten (*Cymbeline*), Pompey (*Measure for Measure*) and (not strictly comic – unless he is made so) Polonius in *Hamlet*. Liston and Dowton both performed Malvolio, while the Falstaffs of Dowton and Mathews must have differed, if only in physical size – in spite of the Stick's padding. It must be said, though, that Falstaff *was* Dowton's part, but only served as a quick experiment for Mathews.

In the playing of Barnadine (*Measure for Measure*) and Caliban (*The Tempest*), there was critical dissent about the quality of Emery's acting. Emery invariably employed his own Yorkshire accent onstage, and the use of a local idiom in Shakespeare was held by the critic William Hazlitt to be vulgar; he remarked that 'there was not the smallest vulgarity in [Shakespeare's conception of Caliban]'.³¹

Hazlitt, who admired Emery in other roles, saw the ‘monster’ Caliban as being outside anything provincial. Others differed: Hunt thought Emery’s Caliban superb; in spite of the necessary ‘coarseness of style’, it approached ‘terrific tragedy’ and was ‘played naturally . . . and without comic excess’.³¹

Austen may have seen Liston’s Malvolio, which Crabb Robinson in 1811 calls ‘excellent. I never saw him to greater advantage . . . His inimitable gravity till he receives the letter and his incomparable smiles in the cross-gartered scene are the perfection of nature and art united’.³² Dowton, however, ‘was considered the best representative of Malvolio on the English stage’,³³ proving just how much criticism can depend on opinion.

It could be that actors were sometimes miscast – or perhaps were having an off-night. In 1820 Hunt criticised Emery and Liston in *Twelfth Night*: Emery as Sir Toby Belch ‘seemed to mistake the character, seeing him ‘as ‘surlly’ rather than ‘mock-heroic’, and Liston’s Aguecheek lacked ‘absurdity, sufficient ostentation and overweeningness’.³⁴ But then, it might have been annoying for Liston to be given a part unsuited to him while someone else (Mr Farren) played ‘his’ part, Malvolio.

And now, the two plays reported on by Austen, *The Hypocrite* and *The Farmer’s Wife*. *The Hypocrite* held its own on the London stage for decades. As Austen knew, it was taken from Molière’s *Tartuffe*, which she may have read. Its author, Isaac Bickerstaff, passed over a former adaptation by Cibber, and turned to Molière’s original. He affirms in his Preface that he made just one major change: he invented a new character, the sanctimonious Maw-Worm, named after a parasite living in the human stomach. This Malapropian shopkeeper is a disciple of the hypocrite of the title, the villainous clergyman Dr Cantwell. Maw-Worm says, ‘I wants to go a-preaching . . . I have made several sermons already; I does them extrumperry, because I can’t write . . . I does nothing clandestently; I stands here contagious to his majesty’s guards . . .’³⁵ Bickerstaff must have known that Maw-Worm is a gem of a part for a character comedian. He appears in only two scenes, yet one can see why he might steal the show, especially when played by Mathews the night Jane Austen was there in 1811.

Dowton as Cantwell gave ‘one of the few perfect pieces of acting on the stage’, according to Hunt,³⁶ who continues, ‘nothing can shew the greatness of this actor more . . . than his foregoing the temptation to rant in the concluding scene . . .’ (when he is found out) ‘. . . with a rage too deep for violence, and a black, inward-breathing, quivering malignity’. This is the interpretation Austen saw that night. Yet six years later [4 November 1817] Crabb Robinson dismisses his performance in a couple of sentences – ‘I was by no means pleased with Dowton’s Cantwell. His excellence is in kindhearted, passionate old men – He overdoes sheer villainy.’ The poor actor cannot, it is clear, please everybody.

The second play, *The Farmer’s Wife*, was, says Austen, ‘a Musical thing in 3 Acts, & as Edward was steady in not staying for anything more, we were at home before 10’.³⁷ This musical thing had a traditional, clichéd plot of attempted seduction by Town Rake of Country Wife. Deftly written by Charles Dibdin Jr,

an experienced playwright of this type, it offered the three comedians plenty of humour and some rousing songs. There are bravura speeches for Mathews as Dr Pother, the apothecary, displaying his many voices and personae. He and Liston, the scheming valet, banter in their usual fashion; and Emery's Robin is an honest countryman who gets the better of the villain Sir Charles. If well played, and it sounds as if it was, the comic sections of it could have been highly entertaining, though Jane's brother Edward may not have agreed, so eager was he to get away.

There's no question that Jane had a sense of humour, but what exactly made her laugh? The subtlety in her writing might suggest *The Farmer's Wife* would be too broad for her taste, but it clearly amused her. Dr Pother rattles on, rather in the mode of Miss Bates, but unlike her, is always interrupted before he can tell his – unlikely – stories. Jane may never have attended one of Mathews' 'At Homes', but she would have encountered his range in the long speech in Act III Scene 4, a *tour de force* in which he impersonates every speaker and interrupter in a debating society, and exits, no doubt to a round of applause.

Mathews' 'At Homes'

Once he had formally mounted his solo show, Mathews mainly toured the provinces, bringing out a new programme each season, and alternating with his usual work at Covent Garden and with the Drury Lane company. In 1818 his manager, Mr Arnold, secured him the first of six seasons at the Theatre Royal, English Opera House, in the Strand, and these shows became Mathews' primary source of income.

They consisted of three hours of farce, songs, playlets and monologues, presenting multiple characters, using voice, face, hats, props, to render completely unseen his real self. Not only could he make himself unrecognisable onstage, but off-stage too. His creation Mr Pennyman deceived even his friends in ordinary life. His extraordinary ability to change persona, simply by reshaping his face and body while in full view, foxed even those who knew him well.

Mathews was a perfectionist. Private performances for the Prince of Wales and other Royal Family members, followed by invitations to Paris and America, completed his outward success, but the effort needed to travel miles between venues and perform these demanding shows to the hilt, and the constant pain he suffered after his various accidents, meant that his body was wearing out. His first American tour was well received, but not smoothly managed, due to an outbreak of yellow fever in the country; there were those, too, who objected to his depictions of their countrymen, although he never, it is said, played them cruelly. On his return from his second American tour, cut short by illness, he was unable ever to perform again, and a few months later died in London on the morning of his fifty-ninth birthday.

It is impossible in this essay to do justice to Mathews' extensive second career as an imitator, but his wife's *Memoir* makes for lively and revealing reading, while Professor Jim Davis examines Mathews' work carefully (along with the



*Charles Mathews as six characters in 'Stories'. Hand-coloured lithograph, 1822.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.*

other comedians) in his book. Davis writes: 'There are grounds for arguing that Mathews was a seminal influence on the way in which his contemporaries and their successors viewed the world around them,' and this interesting assertion is followed up with conviction in Chapter 14.³⁸

While Mathews took his own route, Liston, Dowton and Emery remained in the London theatres, making people laugh for many years more. Emery died comparatively young – at forty-five, predeceasing his father, the actor Mackle Emery, who had set him on the course of acting. He was considered by Hunt to be 'one of the best actors of his kind the stage ever saw'. His Yorkshire brogue kept him largely in the world of humorous rustics, but he would be particularly remembered for his interpretation of Tyke in *The School of Reform* (Thomas Morton), playing a criminal returned from the colonies, 'one of the most natural and powerful pieces of acting on the stage . . . the sublime of low tragedy'.³⁹ He died suddenly of inflammation of the lungs at Hyde Street, Bloomsbury in 1822.

John Liston continued acting to the age of seventy-one, loved and respected by audiences and many critics, though not by William Oxberry, who wrote: '[he] possesses the knack of portraying human beings in a ridiculous view, but is utterly incapable of portraying . . . what he sees passing every day before him – human

nature, undistorted by art or affectation.’⁴⁰ Others disagreed. Harriet Martineau stated that: ‘He studied his most grotesque characters as carefully as if they had been tragic’,⁴¹ and it cannot be denied that he made thousands laugh. In his later years he appeared mostly at the Olympic Theatre, managed by Madame Vestris, but the body of his work was in the numerous comedies at Covent Garden and the Haymarket. His rendering of his celebrated part, Paul Pry, possibly made him more famous than Siddons, and the Toby jugs sold in hundreds. He lived nine years after retirement, leaving his home near Windsor for a house on Hyde Park Corner. He may have suffered from dementia towards the end, dying on 22 March 1846, and leaving his son £40,000.



‘Portrait of Mr Liston in the character of Paul Pry’ (1826). Harry Beard Collection.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Dowton lived the longest of them all, in good health to the age of eighty-seven. Hunt praises his acting in a way that makes it possible to see Dowton’s private persona in a light other than the testy old gentleman. Hunt writes of Dowton’s Sir Anthony:

in all the niceties and shadows of its feeling, in the benevolence that lurks at the bottom of its anger, in the wish to be pacified that appears in spite of itself . . . the little fatherly yearnings, and all indeed which constitute . . . the paternal part of the character, it leaves that great actor in unapproachable possession of its beauties.

He took on the role of Shylock in October 1815, but the public made it clear they preferred him in his guise as comedian. It could be that he failed to deliver the broad, anti-Semitic interpretation that audiences found funny. A similar reaction must have disappointed him in America, when his low-key, natural style as Shylock was not at first understood. He gave up too soon, perhaps, and came home. Poverty claimed him in his retirement, but a benefit for him was mounted presenting him as Sir Robert Bramble in Colman's play, the appropriately titled *Poor Gentleman*. The amount raised bought him an annuity, which 'amply provided for his declining days'.⁴² He died at Brixton in 1851, leaving the management of Sarah Baker's company to his son William Jr.

Dowton was not to know that his 'Cantwell' in *The Hypocrite* caught the pleased attention of the author Jane Austen, whose fictional clergymen, while ridiculous, greedy or arrogant, were never as evil as the Doctor; Austen would, though, have recognised the breed. Mathews' virtuoso inventiveness, Liston's comic genius, and Emery's lifelike country fellows all received her approval. 'Of course, some amusement', she wrote. It is a happy image with which to end this account: Jane Austen, in a theatre box with her family, laughing.

Notes

1. *The Hypocrite*, adapted by Isaac Bickerstaff from Molière, 1768.
2. Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Oxford University Press, 2011, p.192.
3. *The Farmer's Wife*, Charles Dibdin Jr., 1814. Dibdin's father, also Charles Dibdin, the composer/playwright, was the most prolific singer-songwriter of his time. Jane Austen's collection of sheet music for piano features several songs by him, more, in fact, than by any other composer.
4. *Letters*, p.272.
5. Leigh Hunt, *Dramatic Criticism 1808-1831*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1949, p.97.
6. Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture in Late-Georgian and Regency England*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, p.174.
7. Mrs Anne Mathews, *Memoirs of Charles Mathews*, R. Bentley, London, 1839.
8. School information from Westminster City Council, *Historical Notes on Westminster Schools* at <https://westminster.gov.uk>
9. John Joseph Knight, *Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900*, Vol. 33.
10. George Clement Boase, *Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900*, Vol. 15.
11. Mathews, *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, p.217.
12. *Ibid.*, p.228.
13. See Note 7.
14. Mathews, *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, p.62.
15. *Ibid.*, p.101. His own words.
16. *Ibid.*, pp.97, 98.

17. Information for the preceding section is all taken from the *Memoirs*.
18. Crabb Robinson, Eluned Brown, (ed.), *London Theatre 1811-1866*, The Society for Theatre Research, 1966. 23 December 1812, p.59.
19. *Letters*, p.296.
20. Hunt, p.248.
21. Probably Boase, DNB 1888.
22. At the time of writing this portrait can be seen on the British Antique Dealers' Association website at <https://www.bada.org/object/portrait-john-liston-circa-1776-1846-actor-and-comedian>
23. *Paul Pry* by John Poole, premièred in 1825.
24. Mathews, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p.432.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p.48.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p.5.
27. Davis, p.20.
28. Mathews, *Memoirs*, Vol I, p.423
29. *Letters*, p.228.
30. Davis, p.63.
31. For a full account of this argument, see Davis, p.171.
32. Crabb Robinson, 19 January 1811, p.33.
33. Boase, DNB.
34. Hunt, pp.228-229.
35. Isaac Bickerstaff, *The Hypocrite*, John Bell, British Library, Strand, London, M DCC XCII. Act II, Sc II, pp.42,43.
36. Hunt, p.97.
37. *Letters*, p.272.
38. Details of Davis's book at Note 6.
39. Hazlitt in *Examiner*, 23 June 1816; quoted in Davis, p.169.
40. Davis, p.63, see Note 9.
41. *Ibid.*, p.62.
42. Information for this paragraph from Boase, DNB.

The lost miniature of Captain Francis Austen (1806)

Jocelyn Harris

Sixteen years ago, I argued that Jane Austen's unusually specific reference in *Persuasion* to the 'clever young German artist at the Cape' who paints a 'small miniature' of Captain Benwick for Fanny Harville, could have been one of her beloved in-jokes. That is, she was aware that her family knew that the artist was real, that his name was Jacob Fruman or Frieman, and that in September 1807 he had painted a portrait miniature of her brother Captain Francis Austen at the Cape of Good Hope.¹ Now it is only known as a black-and-white negative at Jane Austen's House, Chawton. But as often happens with research, recent correspondence with fellow Austen scholar Hazel Jones prompted me to resume my search for answers to several questions. When and where did Francis Austen have the time and the money to commission a portrait in 1806–7? What is the relationship between the oval portrait in the negative and the rectangular portrait of Captain Francis Austen at Jane Austen's House, both dated 1806? What is the provenance of the two portraits? And where is the original miniature now?

I suggest that it could have passed from Frank's oldest son George to his daughter Mary Louisa Swain, then to her son Hugh Ernest Victor Austen and on to his son David Norrie Austen.² Also that the portrait at Chawton, which I believe to be a copy, could have passed from Mary Jane Purvis, Frank's first-born child and oldest daughter, to her son George, then to his son John Henry Hubback, to his daughter Edith Brown, to her daughter Helen and finally to Helen's great-niece Diana Gardener, who brought it to Jane Austen's House Museum in 2006.³ The copy has remained there since her death in 2019.



Francis Austen 1806.
© Jane Austen's House

The only authenticated portrait of the bright-eyed, Byronic Captain Francis Austen, dated 1806, appears in *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers* (1906), written by his grandchildren J. H. Hubback and Edith C. Hubback. As they explain in their list of illustrations, 'From a miniature of 1806 . . . The Order of the C.B. [Knight Commander of the Bath,] has been painted in at a later date, probably when conferred in 1815'. The top of the frame is stamped 'F. W. Austen. 1806'.⁴ I shall argue, however, that it was actually painted in late 1807.

The fact that Frank wears his captain's uniform and medal from the Battle of St Domingo (1806) suggests that it commemorates his role there. Did he commission the portrait on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Gibson in July 1806? Probably not, for from October 1806 to 30 June 1807, he was supporting a household of five women, including his pregnant wife, and did not know if he would ever command another ship. In late 1807, by contrast, he was a well-paid captain for the East India Company. Stuck at the Cape for almost a month, he had enough cash and time to sit for his portrait as well as to record observations on its geography, anchorages, assets, and inhabitants.⁵ Deirdre Le Faye confirmed that date in an email of 23 March 2006:

As for the possibility of FWA being painted by Jacob Frieman/Fruman, this might just have been possible on one occasion in 1807. In that year, FWA was at Simonsbay on 16th September, Table Bay on 12th October, back at St. Helena on 25th October, and in the UK by December 1807.

Between May 1806 and June 1807, however, as Deirdre Le Faye reveals in *Jane Austen: A Family Record*, Frank had been fully occupied with domestic and professional affairs. After the battle of St Domingo in February 1806, he had disembarked from HMS *Canopus* early in May, received a silver vase and a gold medal from Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, married Mary Gibson at Ramsgate on 24 July 1806, prolonged the honeymoon at Godmersham, stayed at Steventon from mid-September, and travelled to Southampton on 10 October to set up temporary lodgings for his new wife, his sisters Jane and Cassandra, his mother Mrs Austen, and their friend Martha Lloyd. At Christmas, Martha went to Kintbury and Cassandra to Godmersham; at New Year, James and Mary Austen arrived with seven-month-old Caroline.⁶ Some of Jane Austen's letters from the end of December 1806 to early January 1807 are missing. Le Faye surmises that Cassandra destroyed them because they revealed that Jane, still recovering from whooping cough, suddenly became very depressed by the limitations of the life imposed on her mother and herself, the death of Mr Austen on 21 January 1805, and the effect of their diminished income.⁷

The crowded household became fractious over Christmas and New Year. It was too dirty for walking, and Mary Lloyd was uninterested in the books Jane chose for reading aloud.⁸ Jane reported on 7–8 January 1807 that James preferred his boiled leg of mutton underdone, whereas their guest Captain Foote 'has a particular dislike to underdone mutton; but he was so good-humoured and pleasant that I did

not much mind his being starved'.⁹ In the inconvenient absence of their servant Jenny, 'Our dinners have certainly suffered not a little by having only Molly's head and Molly's hands to conduct them; she fries better than she did, but not like Jenny'. Jane sounds relieved that the guests were soon 'gone or going; and I shall be left to the comfortable disposal of my time, to ease of mind from the torments of rice puddings and apple dumplings, and probably to regret that I did not take pains to please them all'. James was just as tiresome on a later occasion. As Jane wrote on 8 February:

I am sorry & angry that his Visits should not give one more pleasure; the company of so good & so clever a Man ought to be more gratifying in itself; – but his Chat seems all forced, his Opinions on many points too much copied from his Wife's, & his time here is spent I think in walking about the House & banging the Doors, or ringing the Bell for a glass of Water.

'Our acquaintance increase too fast', Jane wrote wearily on 8 January about Frank's colleague Admiral Bertie and his daughter Catherine coming to wait upon them: 'There was nothing to like or dislike in either. To the Berties are to be added the Lances, with whose cards we have been endowed, and whose visit Frank and I returned yesterday'. Mrs Lance 'was civil and chatty enough, and offered to introduce us to some acquaintance in Southampton, which we gratefully declined'. Just as irritably, she added, 'They live in a handsome style and are rich, and she seemed to like to be rich, and we gave her to understand that we were far from being so; she will soon feel therefore that we are not worth her acquaintance'.¹⁰

To compound the tension, the pregnant Mary Austen was suffering from fainting fits, usually after 'a hearty dinner', said Jane on 7–8 January. Then Mary became anxious because a Miss Fowler was staying at the home of Henry Austen's former fiancée, Miss Mary Pearson,¹¹ making Jane exclaim, 'What a Contretems!—in the Language of France . . . The Black Gentleman has certainly employed one of his menial imps to bring about this complete tho' trifling mischeif'. Frank, she said, was 'quite as much on his guard for his wife as we c^d desire for her sake, or our own'. By 8–9 February, Frank and Mary were actively purchasing items for their new home as well as planning improvements and alterations. By 20–22 February, he had 'a very bad Cough, for an Austen—but it does not disable him from making very nice fringe for the Drawingroom-Curtains'. For him, at least, it was a period of 'tranquil enjoyment' in which 'the winter glided rapidly away', such a state of domestic happiness 'that he had ceased to expect and almost to wish for professional employment'.¹² Jane might have thought otherwise. In March, the family moved into a 'commodious old-fashioned house' at 2 Castle Square.¹³

Jane relished luxury, rejoicing on 1 July 1808 that at Godmersham, 'I shall eat Ice & drink French wine & be above vulgar economy'. Money was always a worry, however. As she had written on 7–8 January 1807, Mrs Austen had been pleased with the 'comfortable state of her own finances, which she finds on closing her year's accounts beyond her expectation, as she begins the new year with a balance

of 30*l.* in her favour'. Soon, though, she became 'afraid I have not been explicit on the subject of her wealth': she 'began 1806 with 68*l.*, she begins 1807 with 99*l.*, and this after 32*l.* purchase of stock'. Mrs Austen made an ostentatious display of thrift,¹⁴ and self-centred Mrs James Austen 'does not talk *much* [my italics] of poverty now, though she has no hope of my brother's being able to buy another horse next summer'. James and his second wife had lived in some style with the help of payments from the father of his first wife, Anne Mathew, but all that had ceased after General Edward Mathew died in December 1805 – the Exchequer was demanding the return of £27,500 because his salary as former governor had never been ratified, then been forgotten by the king. James turned down the offer of a living worth £300 on a principle,¹⁵ and the family was shocked to receive nothing when Stoneleigh Abbey went to Thomas Leigh, Mrs Cassandra Austen's cousin.¹⁶

In March 1807, the Austen sisters received legacies of £50 each from Mrs Lillingston, a friend of aunt Leigh-Perrot. Jane recorded carefully how she had spent her income of £50: 15s 0d on washing, letters and parcels, servants, charity, presents, a journey, sittings in church, 'Cloathes & Pocket', a pocket book, and medicine. She splashed out on a modicum of personal luxuries: 17s 9d on 'Water-parties & Plays' and £2 13s 9d for the year's hire of a pianoforte.¹⁷ Frank's increasing family responsibilities likewise made him concerned about finances. Lack of effective patronage had slowed his promotion,¹⁸ and on 28 September 1805, he asked Lord Nelson for a frigate if some vacancy arose. Admiral Thomas Louis, he said, 'was apprized of my wish to get into a Frigate, which he was good enough to say he thought perfectly reasonable'.¹⁹ Instead, he was appointed to slow, lumbering *Canopus*. The day before Trafalgar, Nelson said, 'I look upon *Canopus* as my right hand', and placed him second astern in his line of battle. But when he sent Frank and another six ships off for supplies, they missed the battle, 'to the loss of pecuniary advantage as well as of professional credit' as Frank wrote bitterly to Mary in a letter begun 15 October 1805:

After having been so many months in a state of constant and unremitting fag [the blockade of Boulogne], to be at last cut out by a parcel of folk just come from their homes, when some of them were sitting at their ease the greater part of the last war and the whole of *this*, till just now, is particularly annoying.²⁰

Frank knew that 'by the death of Lord Nelson I have again lost all chance of a Frigate. I had asked his Lordship to appoint me to one when he had an opportunity, and though I had no positive promise from him, I have reason to believe he would have attended my wishes'.²¹ Nelson had indeed made a positive recommendation to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Barham, who advised giving him the 40-gun frigate *Acasta*,²² but after Nelson's death at Trafalgar, communication failures negated the plan. Jane wrote on 20 February 1807 that 'as the 1st Lord, after promising L^d Moira that Capt. A. should have the first good Frigate that was vacant, has since given away two or three fine ones, he has no particular reason to expect an appointment now'. Along with his chum the Prince of Wales, Moira

had stated publicly that Frank would soon have his frigate, but his influence was waning.²³ In spite of Frank's merit and experience, he would never command a frigate.

Frank had received only a small amount of prize-money from his former command *Peterel*,²⁴ and the Admiralty was holding on to his back-pay. On 11 March, he sent them a Memorial stating that when he was superseded from his command of *Canopus*, he had been unable to supply fresh transcripts of his water-damaged log book, as required. He therefore requested that 'the Rules of the Service . . . may be dispensed with', and that he receive his pay without the production of the papers. He was 'sensibly feeling the want of the wages' for his time in *Canopus*, and lacked 'his subsequent and growing Half-pay, which constitutes a large proportion of his Income'. On 11 April and 15 May, he enquired again about the Admiralty's decision, but it was not until January 1808 that he received his pay from *Canopus* and the arrears of his half-pay.²⁵

No wonder, then, as Jane reported on 8 January 1807, that Frank was 'settling his accounts and making calculations, and each party feels quite equal to our present expenses; but much increase of house-rent would not do for either'. He 'limits himself', she said, 'to four hundred a year'. Frank would admit in his unpublished 'Memoir' that 'making one family with his mothers and sisters' was 'a plan equally suited to his love of domestic society and the extent of his income which was somewhat restricted'.²⁶ More than somewhat, for in addition to his own household expenses, he was contributing £50 a year to a fund, organized by brother Henry, to support Mrs Austen and his unmarried sisters.²⁷ Given the family's anxiety about money in 1807, it's unlikely that Frank would sit for his portrait in the first half of the year.

Location and painter of the 1806 miniature

In early 1807, Francis was extraordinarily busy. On 25 March, he was appointed to command HMS *St Albans* on convoy duty for his new masters the East India Company, leaving his wife in an advanced state of pregnancy at home. From 4 April, he was so focused on fitting out the ship that on 27 April he missed the birth of his first child Mary Jane. On 21 May, he set off from Sheerness for Spithead, and probably attended his daughter's baptism on 31 May in Southampton. After what was no doubt a stressful month of family life, he set sail for the Cape on 30 June.²⁸ On 12 October he was in Table Bay, before returning to St Helena on 25 October. It seems likely that at Cape Town, where Frank was free from family and social commitments, he seized the opportunity to celebrate his role at St Domingo by sitting to the 'clever young German artist at the Cape'.

Austen inserts another in-joke into *Persuasion* when Captain Benwick sails to the Cape, for in March 1807, Frank had begun three-and-a-half tedious but relatively lucrative years of long-distance convoying in the 64-gun *St Albans* to the Cape, St Helena, China, and the East Indies. At about the same time, Fruman was on his way from Marlborough Street, London, to Bengal, but his 'health being much impaired, he asked permission to remain at the Cape'. During Fruman's

residence there from 1807 to 1809, he advertised in the *Cape Government Gazette* (1808) that he was a ‘miniature painter and professor of music and drawing in its various branches’. He was also ‘open to take miniatures or teach for a few months, or permanently if given encouragement’, but he died insolvent in March 1809, leaving only a ‘trunk of wearing apparel, some music, books, pictures, drawing box etc. and a violin’.²⁹ Alfred Gordon-Brown explains that,

In the early years of the nineteenth century probably ten or twelve men from overseas, describing themselves as painters of miniatures, obtained permission to land at the Cape. They advertised that they would stay for a few weeks – or permanently – according to encouragement given them. But, sad to say, encouragement was not forthcoming; most of the artists went on to India while those who remained more often than not drifted into other employment.

As to Captain Harville’s miniature in *Persuasion*, he surmises that ‘Jane Austin [sic], the novelist, unexpectedly knew something about these artists at the Cape . . . If it were not that this was fiction, one might have hazarded the guess that the miniaturist could have been Jacob Frieman’.³⁰

On 16 January 1808, Fruman sent what appears to be his second request to reside at the Cape: ‘Finding in his passage to Bengal (on board the *Monmouth*) his health much impaired’, he had asked Admiral Drury to send him ashore, where he found that it was requisite to have a licence to reside there. He understood from naval chaplain Dr Halloran that the earl ‘had kindly granted him that permission’. Being ‘willing to observe the Customs, and Laws wherever he is, he humbly solicit[s] that your Excellency . . . permit your memorialist to reside here, as long as his health may require, or the encouragement in his profession may make it expedient’.³¹ The earl’s arrival on 21 May 1807, together with Fruman’s mention of Laurence Hynes Halloran, who would assume his duties as naval chaplain at the end of the year, helps fix a date of around September 1807 as the earliest time for Francis to sit to Fruman. A naval chaplain was a likely point of contact for the ‘quietly devout’ Captain Austen.³²

In 1799, while Fruman was residing at 5 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, he had exhibited a miniature of Mr and Mrs Barbot at the British Academy.³³ Bonhams sold two Frumans, ‘A Gentleman’ on 23 May 2007 and ‘A Young Lady, called Mary Chapmill’ on 23 September 2020, both undated; and ‘An Officer of the 87th/Prince of Wales Irish Regiment of Foot’, dated 1805, appears on the internet. In 1807, just before he left for the Cape, Fruman painted five more miniatures, now at the Victoria & Albert Museum.³⁴ Daphne Foskett comments that ‘his work is slightly reminiscent of that of J.C.D. Engleheart’, nephew to George Engleheart, one of the great artists of the eighteenth century. Some of J.C.D.’s miniatures, she says, are ‘very like’ the ones painted by his distinguished uncle.³⁵ Quite the compliment to Fruman, whose fee would have been far more affordable than the twenty-five guineas charged in 1811 by the fashionable George Engleheart.³⁶ To my eye, the portrait of Francis Austen resembles Fruman’s other miniatures in

quality, finish, and style. The stippled background in ‘John Pusey Wint’, slave-owner and stock-holder of Jamaica and Ryde (c. 1807), for instance, looks similar to Frank’s.³⁷

The 1806 portrait of Francis Austen at Chawton

Jane Austen’s House holds a ‘Miniature of Jane’s brother Francis Austen in uniform, as captain of HMS *Canopus*, 1806. Miniature in colour on ivory, in gilded ornate gesso frame. On reverse the newspaper cutting recording the sea career of HMS *Canopus*’.³⁸ It may once have belonged to Mrs May Purvis, widow of George F. G. Purvis, who was the great-grandson of Francis Austen through his eldest child, Mary Jane. In March 1951, as Stephanie Emo told me on 10 January 2022, T.E. Carpenter, the then curator at Jane Austen’s House, did not take up the offer made by Mrs Purvis of ‘Admiral Sir Francis Austen’s picture in a small period frame’. Even though the picture portrays Frank as a captain, she would have called him ‘Admiral’ because his medal of Knight Commander of the Bath was painted in some time after 1815. She offered it again to Mr Carpenter in 1952. But as Emo reported, the House catalogue holds no record of ‘any portrait of FWA donated by Mrs Purvis and no further information about the portrait itself’.³⁹



*Captain Francis Austen, donated by Diana M Gardener.
© Jane Austen’s House*

Seeing that the photograph that Mr Tom Carpenter sent me on 13 June 2008 precisely matches the image of the oval 1806 miniature authenticated by the Hubbicks, the rectangular portrait at Jane Austen’s House is almost certainly a copy. It differs from the oval in quality, dimensions, and shape. Frank’s head is cocked at a more quizzical angle; his eyes are no longer level; his neck is thinner;

the hairline round the forehead is different, as is the profile of the top-knot; the military buttons are closer together; the medals fail to align with the third row of the buttons; the top of the left-hand epaulette is gold instead of fabric-coloured; the right-hand epaulette is not tilted and larger; the scrap of neckcloth is smaller; and a new whiteish line appears on the left-hand-side of the collar. Unfortunately, that image appears in chapter 4 of my *Revolution*. No wonder it looks inferior to the five Fruman portraits nearby.

I now see what happened. On 17 April 2006, I had asked Mr Carpenter for what I called ‘a black and white photograph of the copy held at Chawton of Francis Austen’s portrait, painted c. 1806, for inclusion in my new book’. Since I did not specify which portrait, Museum Assistant Isabel Snowden understandably sent the publisher a photograph of the full-colour copy, not the original held as a negative at Jane Austen’s House – the clue is that she assumed I wanted ‘the black and white version’ of the portrait held there.⁴⁰ What I believe is the copy had surfaced in 2006 when Diana Mary Gardener, a descendant of Frank’s daughter Catherine and her husband John Hubback,⁴¹ brought the rectangular portrait to Chawton for conservation, together with the oval miniature of Francis as a lieutenant (1798). As she told me in an email of 28 August 2006,

The miniatures of Grandpa Fly I have on loan to Chawton are the oval 1796 [sic] lieutenant and an oblong which is currently being dated, it may be a copy of the 1806 or an original (but keep that under your hat), until Tom has confirmed and announces it, as it may be a new find).

In a phone call, she said it had a wide gesso frame.

Around this time, I rang Mr Carpenter, who said he might have another portrait becoming available to him. It might be the original, he said, and he would make good images of it before the conservators put it back into the frame. On 30 May 2006, I wrote excitedly to my publisher that Mr Carpenter had alerted me to ‘another and better copy of the Francis Austen miniature . . . now in the hands of the conservator’. But Diana Gardener warned me by telephone, that the portrait might not be a real one, reporting on 28 August 2006 that ‘Tom [Carpenter] and I have compared a copy of the two 1806 portraits and one is definitely not an exact copy of the other’. Indeed it is not. Hazel Jones speculated on 5 October 2021 that ‘maybe Cassandra Austen made a copy when the family lived together in Southampton’.⁴² On 15 September 2006, when I called Mr Carpenter again, he said he had all the images laid out before him and the matter was more complicated. He did not know where the range of images had come from, and whether one particular image was a copy. He wanted me to see all the images and help him to identify the differences, but by then I had flown to the other side of the world.

The catalogue at Jane Austen’s House lists both the ‘B/w photo of miniature (cut to oval shape and framed) = JAH140.5’ and the ‘Original miniature, square, framed, dated 1806 = JAH318’.⁴³ But that cannot be right. It seems more likely that the oval portrait, rather than being copied from the rectangular portrait then

‘cut to oval shape and framed’ was always meant to fit within the oval metal frame stamped ‘F. W. Austen 1806’. It is JAH140.5, the black-and-white photograph at Jane Austen’s House, that matches the black-and-white oval reproduced by the Hubbaks. JAH318 is inferior to the original and significantly different from it. Given the evidence, I believe that JAH318, the portrait in the carved gilded frame now at Jane Austen House, is the copy, not the original.

Sophie Reynolds, Collections and Interpretations Manager at Jane Austen’s House, suggested on 15 October 2021 that the black and white image JAH140.5 would have been taken when David Cecil had the original miniature photographed for his *Portrait of Jane Austen* (London, 1978).⁴⁴ The negative, she said, had been on loan from Dr Katharine Beaumont since 1951, when it was first loaned by her grandfather, L.A. Impey, a descendant of James Austen Edward Austen-Leigh.⁴⁵ She advised me to write to Beaumont as ‘the owner (and lender) of the photo reproduction’. But Le Faye had stated on 22 May 2006 that Dr Beaumont ‘doesn’t own the miniature and didn’t give the [Jane Austen Memorial Trust] the old photograph of it’.

Back to the original portrait. Diana Gardener wrote definitively on 28 August 2006 about the ‘oval of 1806, which I don’t own’, adding, ‘I cannot say if the miniature (1806) is signed but I believe the restorers at Chawton have had the two rectangular portraits out of their frames’. Of the original she said, ‘I believe [it] has an inscription at the top of the frame, it is shown in Sailor Brothers (incidentally JH and EC Hubback were my GG Grandfather and G Grandmother respectively)’. She means John Henry Hubback (1844–1939), the son of Francis and Mary Austen’s second daughter Catherine Anne Austen (1818–77), and John Henry’s daughter, Edith Charlotte Hubback, the mother of Helen Brown.⁴⁶ That is, Diana Gardener inherited from her great-aunt Helen Brown the oval portrait of Francis Austen as a lieutenant (1798) along with the rectangular portrait of Francis Austen as a captain in its carved frame. As she added,

Speaking to my brother and father I have discovered that none of us had never questioned where they originated from. In fact we were all shocked that anyone had any interest in them. Dave, my brother and myself merely grew up knowing they were Grandpa Fly⁴⁷ and Grandpa George (and were relatives of Jane Austen) [i.e. Jane’s brother Francis and his eldest son]. My theory of having two portraits of the same date is that Grandpa Fly and Grandma Mary married in July 1806. It would therefore be logical that he would have two portraits done, one for his wife and one for his mother, in much the same way as we would have photographs reprinted.

But, as I said, the two portraits are clearly by different hands.⁴⁸ It seems probable that after Diana Gardener attended Helen Brown’s funeral in 2000, she inherited the rectangular portrait now at Jane Austen’s House, the copy that she presented in 2006 to Tom Carpenter as a possible new find. Both that and the portrait of Lieutenant Francis Austen (1798) are now at Jane Austen’s House.

Le Faye told me on 21 January 2006 that although she herself wasn’t present at the funeral in Winchester, other ‘Austenian connections’ had met ‘Miss G.’ and

some of her relations: ‘Although they were all warmly invited to join the Jane Austen Society, nothing more has been heard from them, so it would seem they are not very interested in their collateral ancestress’. Le Faye was misinformed, however, for Diana Gardener was excited about the link with Jane Austen, writing on 4 October 2007 about her Hubback relatives in North America that, ‘to be in touch with another branch of the family would be marvellous’.⁴⁹ Since Diana Gardener’s death in 2019,⁵⁰ the portraits of 1798 and ‘1806’ have remained at Jane Austen’s House.

As to the 1798 portrait of Lieutenant Francis Austen, Le Faye explained on 1 September 2006 that it was ‘bequeathed by the late Miss Helen Brown (died 2000) to a niece or great niece, a Miss Diana Gardener . . . I can only guess that they descend from Miss Brown’s brother, who was I believe a tea planter in Assam’.⁵¹ Helen Margaret Brown’s brother Peter Austen Leadley Brown, born in 1912, died on active service in Burma in 1944. The children of Peter Brown and Joleshawri Tantiani were Helen, Peter Austen Brown, Robin Frances [sic] Brown, and Mary Edith Brown.⁵² Helen’s children by Rodney Trevor Thompson Gardener were Diana Margaret (1960–2019) and David Trevor Thompson (b. 1958). Diana must have been given the 1798 portrait of Lieutenant Frank Austen before her great-aunt’s death, however, as she had lent it to Le Faye, via a local intermediary in Winchester, so that it could be photographed for her *Jane Austen* (Oxford, 1998).⁵³

The lost miniature of 1806

So where is the original portrait of Captain Francis Austen, stamped ‘F.W. Austen. 1806’ at the top of the oval frame? On 23 March 2006, Le Faye wrote to me:

The ?1806 miniature of FWA – this presents some problems. I have never seen the original, and don’t know who owns it or where, tho’ presumably it is one of FWA’s descendants. According to the acknowledgements in the Hubbacks’ *Sailor Brothers* (pub 1905, but one doesn’t know how many years in the writing), there was a Miss M. L. Austen who then owned this miniature . . . I think the reproductions of the FWA min. in books have always been from an old BW photo, a copy of which is with [Jane Austen’s House]. I shall be going to Chawton on Saturday week, if all goes well, for a JASoc cttee. mtg., and will try then to grab Tom Carpenter by the ear and see what more he may be able to offer in the way of provenance.

Soon afterwards, she wrote:

I saw Tom Carpenter at Chawton last Saturday, 1st April, and got a bit more info. from him. As I feared, all he has is an old BW photograph of the 1806 miniature, which was given to the [Jane Austen Memorial Trust] years ago by someone whom he now can’t identify. Logically, this person ought to be a descendant of FWA, to be in a position to photograph the original; and if I can, I’ll try to pursue this line of research. Tom has no idea who owns the original (if it still survives) – so there’s no hope at present of trying to find out if it’s signed. JA research is full of these infuriating loose ends! – still, even negative information can be of help.⁵⁴

On 1 September 2006 she explained that ‘Miss M. L. Austen could be Mary Louisa (1852–1925), daughter of George A., [who] was then the eldest surviving son of FWA – so it would be logical for family heirlooms to go to the elder line’. Hazel Jones wrote on 2 September 2021 that Mary Louisa ‘married late in life (after the age of 48, since she is still single in the 1901 census) a clergyman called Charles Swain, so where the miniature went on her death in 1925, who knows? (And if someone does know, they are not saying)’. Seeing that the Swains had no issue, the portrait could then have passed to her brother Arthur Robert Austen (1860–1939), another direct descendant of Francis Austen through his oldest son George.⁵⁵ According to Le Faye’s family tree 25 in *Chronology*, their youngest son Hugh Ernest Victor was the only sibling to have issue. He and Sybil Norrie were the parents of David Norrie Austen (1927–2019).

Part of Norrie Austen’s collection was bought recently by Karen Ievers.⁵⁶ On 31 July 2020, she announced that in 2019 she had acquired from Lawrences Auctioneers ‘two framed portraits of Sir Francis Austen and his military buttons’. Lawrences told her that the portraits and the buttons came from a ‘good private collection that included Jane Austen [sic] and other memorabilia’. The seller, said Ievers, was ‘the widow of David Norrie Austen, and I have a letter handwritten by her explaining that the items were passed down directly from David’s family’.⁵⁷ On 31 July 2020, Ievers announced that in 2019 she had bought a portrait of Tom Lefroy by George Engleheart from the same auction house. Lawrences confirmed that it came from the same seller, Mrs Irmgard Austen.

It seems possible that nearby lots also came from the Norrie Austen estate, for instance Lot 203 of 17 March 2020, ‘Miscellania’, which included copied silhouettes of ‘L’aimable Jane’ and ‘The Presentation of Edward Austen to Thomas and Catherine Knight’.⁵⁸ The Knight portrait re-appears as Lot 172 on 18 March 2020, included in a ‘Small quantity of Jane Austen memorabilia’. Their presence at Lawrences auctions suggests that they came from the Norrie Austen estate from 22–24 October 2019 onwards. Had he also owned ‘A small group of ephemera related to the Austen family, 1830s’, sold as Lot 659 on 27–28 May 2020 by Dominic Winter Auctioneers, Mallard House, near Cirencester? They include legal papers and wills relating to Jane Austen’s great-uncle Francis Austen of Sevenoaks and his family. If so, does the Norrie Austen family still hold the original miniature of 1806? My plea for information remains unanswered.

Odd as it may seem, some of Jane Austen’s collateral descendants knew little and perhaps cared even less about their family portraits. Mrs Purvis told Tom Carpenter on 28 July 1950 that she had sold the miniature of Philadelphia Hancock because she had no one to leave it to ‘*who would be in the least interested*’ [her emphasis].⁵⁹ Diana Gardener wrote similarly that, ‘Speaking to my brother and father I have discovered that none of us had ever questioned where [their Austen items] originated from. In fact we were all shocked that anyone had any interest in them’. And Irmgard Austen, the widow of David Norrie Austen, wrote to John Turner at Lawrences on 15 November 2019:

You ask about the history of the items you acquired. Unfortunately I have little further information. Following the death of my husband it was necessary to clear quite a few things he had *acquired from various relatives* [my italics]. Many of these had not seen the light of day for many decades . . . I am not sure which photographs you have, but unless they are already named I can't help. To be honest even if David were alive he would have problems identifying them.

In 2006, I abandoned my quest. Le Faye wrote with typical generosity in May 2006, 'I do sympathise – research, like truth, is neither pure nor simple'. But now I am trying again.⁶⁰ It would be good to know what happened to the 1806 miniature, not just for the *Persuasion* link, but also for discovering more about the Austen family's habit of commissioning high quality portraits. I hope that members of the Jane Austen Society can help find the original portrait of Captain Francis Austen. The evidence suggests that it was painted in September 1807 by Jacob Fruman, a clever young German artist at the Cape, and that it passed to Frank's descendants in the male line. But where is it now? As Hazel Jones remarked, if someone does know, they are not saying.

Notes

1. See Jocelyn Harris, *A Revolution Almost beyond Expression: Jane Austen's 'Persuasion'* (2007), pp.84–87, 216n. 61.
2. See Deirdre Le Faye, family tree 25, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 2013).
3. See Le Faye, family tree 26, *Chronology*.
4. J. H. Hubback and Edith C. Hubback, *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers: Being the Adventures of Sir Francis Austen, G. C. B., Admiral of the Fleet and Rear-Admiral Charles Austen* (Stroud, 190, repr. 1986), p. xiv, facing p.156.
5. For Frank's reports from the Cape, see Hubback and Hubback, pp.186–90. On his return from China, Frank delivered ninety-three chests of treasure valued at '470,000 dollars' to the Company's agent at Deal. Rather than accept the Company's first offer of £1,177, he fought for and won £1,500. See David Nokes, *Jane Austen: A Life* (New York, 1997), p.373.
6. Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: A Family Record*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 2004), p.153.
7. Brian Southam, *Jane Austen and the Navy*, 2nd edition (Greenwich, 2004), p.140; Le Faye, *Family Record*, pp.158–9.
8. Nokes, p.312.
9. Quotations cited by date from *Jane Austen's Letters*, 4th edition, ed. Deirdre Le Faye (Oxford, 2011).
10. For all these other details about Austen family life, see Le Faye, *Family Record*, pp.153, 158–59.
11. Nokes, pp.162–63, 315.
12. Le Faye, *Family Record*, pp.158–9.
13. J. E. Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen and Other Family Recollections*,

- ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford, 2002), pp.65, 228 n65.
14. Nokes, pp.309–10.
 15. Le Faye, *Family Record*, p.152.
 16. Southam, pp.147–48.
 17. Jane Austen's pocket diary for 1807, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS MA 2911; Austen-Leigh Collection, Hampshire Record Office, 23M93/51/1. See Park Honan, *Jane Austen: Her Life* (London, 1987), pp.244–5; Nokes, pp. 303–07, 548 n11. Nokes writes of 'pocket money' (p.310), but a pocket is any small bag or pouch worn on the person.
 18. Southam, pp.103–4, 108.
 19. *Ibid.*, pp.96–97.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp.97–98.
 21. Le Faye, *Family Record*, p.100.
 22. Southam, p.100.
 23. *Ibid.*, pp.101–2, 104, 149–50. In 'Lord Moira and the Austens' (Persuasions 35, 2013), Stuart Bennett provides copious evidence about Moira's interventions on behalf of Charles Austen as well as Francis.
 24. *Ibid.*, p.136.
 25. *Ibid.*, p.327.
 26. Le Faye, *Family Record*, p.153.
 27. *Ibid.*, pp.246–47.
 28. *Ibid.*, p.161.
 29. Alfred Gordon-Brown, *Pictorial Africana: A survey of old South African paintings drawings and prints to the end of the nineteenth century with a biographical dictionary of one thousand artists* (Cape Town, 1975), p.162.
 30. *Ibid.*, p.15.
 31. Cape Town, Archives Repository, CO 3867 no. 43A. My thanks to Peter Knox-Shaw, University of Cape Town.
 32. Le Faye, *Family Record*, p.139.
 33. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1904), 2:721.
 34. For the five Fruman portraits at the V&A, see Harris, plates 2–6.
 35. Daphne Foskett, *Miniatures, Dictionary and Guide* (Antique Dealers' Club, 1994), p.544; *A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters* (London, 1972), pp.261–63.
 36. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Engleheart
 37. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1069689/john-pusey-wint-portrait-miniature-fru>
 38. Stephanie Emo, 20 December 2021.
 39. Information quoted by permission from Stephanie Emo's article in this *Report*, 'Mrs M. Purvis – the Memorial Trust's greatest benefactress'.
 40. Isabel Snowden, 13 June 2006.
 41. Le Faye, family trees 25–26, *Chronology*.

42. Hubback and Hubback, p.xiv.
43. Sophie Reynolds, Collections and Interpretation Manager, Jane Austen's House, 15 October 2021.
44. The family of photographer Jeremy Whitaker could find no reference to the FWA portrait.
45. For Dr Katharine Beaumont, see family tree 23, Le Faye, *Chronology*.
46. For the descendants of Francis and Mary Austen see Le Faye, family tree 25, *Chronology*. I thank Louise Marie Harris for the link to the family of Peter Austen Leadley Brown and Joleshawri Tantiani: <http://charlie.binyon.pagespersoorange.fr/Genealogy/gedfiliations/fam/fam01044.html>
47. Francis Austen was nicknamed 'Fly' for his mental and physical vigour (Hubback and Hubback, p.156).
48. In the same message of 28 August 2006, Diana Gardener sent a charming glimpse of Austen family life:

I recently visited Chawton (to me it is also Grandma Cassandra's home) with a colleague who told me how lucky I was to have such well documented family history. I had to admit that it was something we took for granted in our earlier years. A box made by Grandpa Fly used to be filled, by my great aunt [Helen Brown] with toys from cereal packets. On arrival we, (our cousins and ourselves), would race to throw it open and find the treasure inside, never realising that the true treasure was the box!
49. Diana Gardener told me on 3 October 2007 that Edward, the youngest son of John and Catherine Hubback, was an early aviator, who together with William Boeing started the American air mail service. Due to an error on his licence he was known as 'Edward Hubbard'.
50. *Daily Echo*, 1 May 2019. <https://www.dailyecho.co.uk/memorials/death-notice/death/17609122.diana-mary-gardener/>
51. Diana Gardener's email address was 'Mowglisy@aol.com'.
52. Emo, 10 January 2022. For Peter and Joleshwari Brown, see <https://wc.rootsweb.com/trees/153642/I1990/-/ahnentafel>
53. Deirdre Le Faye, 1 September 2006.
54. Even Homer nods, however, and Le Faye inadvertently created confusion when in her go-to book for Austen scholars, *Jane Austen: A Family Record*, she mis-labelled the oval miniature '1796' instead of '1806' (p.82).
55. For Mary Louisa Austen, see <https://wc.rootsweb.com/trees/153642/I376/marylouisa-austen/individual>
56. Karen Ievers had already acquired a family album containing photographs of Knight family members, including the very many children of Edward Austen Knight. See Sophia Hillan, 'The Ievers/Hill Discovery and the Story of Jane Austen's Nieces in Ireland', *Jane Austen Society of Australia Chronicle* (June 2019), pp.20–23.
57. The prints sold at Lawrences on 22 October 2019 (Lot 197) and the buttons on 4 February 2020 (Lot 132). The two framed prints portray Francis as an admiral, however, not a captain.

58. The Knight family silhouette reappears in the Lawrences catalogue of 17 March 2020 (Lot 172) and 'L'aimable Jane' on 22 October 2019 (Lot 203). Chawton House holds the original silhouette of Edward and the Knights. For 'L'aimable Jane', found in a copy of *Mansfield Park*, see NPG 3181.
59. Le Faye reports that in 1937, J.H. Hubback mentioned to Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh 'a portrait miniature set in diamonds, possibly [Elizabeth de Feuillide]', and that in 1953, Mrs Purvis presented to the Trust John Smart's portrait miniature of de Feuillide (*Chronology*, pp. 705, 706). It actually represents Jane Austen's aunt Philadelphia Hancock. In 'Mrs M. Purvis', Emo relates the story of the Hancock miniature and other donations from this generous benefactress.
60. In 2006–7, Tom Carpenter, Deirdre Le Faye, and Diana Gardener responded patiently to my enquiries. For more recent assistance, I thank Hazel Jones, editor of the *Annual Report* of the Jane Austen Society; Professor Janine Barchas, University of Texas at Austin; Dr Katharine Beaumont; Lizzie Dunford, director of Jane Austen's House; Stephanie Emo, intern at Jane Austen's House; Professor Kathryn Sutherland, Oxford; Professor Joseph Roach, Yale; Kim Simpson and Emma Yandle, Chawton House; Jennifer Weinbrecht, Jane Austen Books; Ruth Williamson, editor of the *JASA Chronicle*; and Christie Wilson, University of Otago Library. All errors are of course my own.

The Austens' Residences in Sevenoaks

Part I: A forgotten Austen property: The Old House, 18 High Street¹

Mark Ballard

Histories of gentry families do not generally concentrate upon the seventh child (and second daughter) of a younger son's orphan son. If the Austens' story had been related in a more historically orthodox, male-orientated fashion, more attention might have been devoted to where the family's senior line was actually living. During the mid-eighteenth century, and therefore before Jane Austen's own lifetime, Sevenoaks was becoming the focal point – the headquarters, so to speak – of her paternal family, rather more than their ancestral estates at Horsmonden. Jane Austen's great-uncle Francis Austen, 'Old Francis', was a central figure in this process, but this has completely obscured the fact that the senior line of Austens represented by John Austen V and VI, nominally 'of Broadford', came to reside in the town as well. One recent contribution to the *Annual Report* by Dirk FitzHugh focused some welcome attention on the successors to John Austen VI's estate. Another, by Janine Barchas, traced the story of the Érard harp sold to Mary Anne Campion in 1815, when she was staying at the Sevenoaks address of her uncle John Austen VII, rector of Chevening, and Jane's second cousin.² The present article sets out to identify and examine that home, which thankfully survives to this day.

To do so, it is necessary to go back further in time; though not to relate again in detail the well-known story of how John Austen IV's widow Elizabeth Austen, née Weller, saved her remaining family from the effects of her father-in-law John III's will, which favoured her eldest son John V at the expense of his brothers and sister, and set him apart. John III's failure to honour his promise to pay off John IV's debts forced Elizabeth to sell her silver plate and best furnishings, and in 1708 she rented out Broadford in order to take up the position of housekeeper at Sevenoaks School, thus enabling her sons to be educated there free of charge.³ Her role there is commemorated in a plaque on the façade of School House by courtesy of the Jane Austen Society, but this, though usually supposed to be the oldest of the School's buildings, cannot be where they were boarded, for construction work on School House and its flanking almshouses did not begin until 1724.

With his upbringing placed in the hands of his grandfather's executors, Stephen Stringer and John Holman, John V's education as a gentleman proceeded through his admission to Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner in 1713, and it seems to have been assumed that thereafter he withdrew to his estates at Horsmonden and eschewed contact with his brothers and sisters. But the breach in the family has been exaggerated. John V would have left Cambridge around

1716, apparently without a degree. In 1718 he came of age: the trusteeship ended, and also apparently the enforced separation from his mother, sister, and brothers. He did not immediately take up residence at Broadford, which continued to be rented: instead, he too moved to Sevenoaks, probably before his mother died there in 1721, though it is not known exactly where he lived. In 1722 he was able to arrange for his own wedding to Mary Stringer, Stephen's daughter, to be celebrated in the Chapel of Gray's Inn. Not only John, but his bride also, were described in the marriage record as already being parishioners of Sevenoaks. He then paid for the wedding portion of his sister Elizabeth on her marriage to George Hooper at Gray's Inn a few months later.⁴ The venue does not indicate that John practised as a barrister, but he might have attempted a career as a 'man of business', dividing his time between Horsmonden and Sevenoaks. His three children, Jane, Elizabeth and John, were all baptised in Sevenoaks, between 1723 and 1725, at much the same time as three sons of his younger brother Thomas, who had returned there after his apprenticeship to practise as an apothecary, before moving to Tonbridge. Idle he may have been, but John V does not appear to be a young man deliberately setting himself apart from less privileged family members.⁵

If the breach between John V and his siblings was temporary, the family's centre of gravity was shifting decisively from Horsmonden to Sevenoaks. By the 1730s Francis Austen's services to the Duke of Dorset at Knole, which included the role of election agent, were leading him back there and probably allowing him less time at his chambers, Clifford's Inn. In 1728, still only in his early thirties, John Austen V died at Horsmonden after a long illness. The entailed property of Broadford was left to his widow Mary for only as long as she wished to live there and remained unmarried.⁶ In 1730, however, Mary preferred to purchase a newly-built town house in Sevenoaks Upper High Street, for £650. This time there is no doubt as to its location: this is the Old House, 18 High Street. In his unpublished *Jane Austen and the Kentish Scene*, Canon S.R. Brade-Birks, vicar of Godmersham, relates how in 1956 he had visited Messrs Knocker and Foskett at 50 High Street, the legal practice in direct succession to the partnerships formed by Francis Austen and his son, which still occupies the Red House, Francis's residence. Mr Foskett himself showed Brade-Birks some title deeds for the Old House, 18 High Street, which countered his visitor's previous expectation that the latter had been Francis Austen's home and offices.⁷

The Old House lay close to other property of Sevenoaks School, which took the opportunity to purchase it in the early 1980s, and now uses it as the Girls' International House. Since 1956 the Knocker and Foskett partnership has deposited substantial accessions of deeds with the Kent county archives, but the Old House deeds which Canon Brade-Birks then saw are not among them. Thus we are reliant upon his reading of the title deeds, according to which Mary Austen's son John sold the house in 1773,⁸ only to regain possession before 1807. Without seeing them, one must hesitate before casting doubt on Canon Brade-Birks's interpretation, but an outright sale by John VI seems highly unlikely if it returned to the family's ownership within his lifetime. The transaction appears far more likely to be a

mortgage in fee which, unlike mortgages today, resembled an outright sale, because the mortgagor, in return for the loan charged upon the property, would transfer his legal estate to the lender until redemption, his interest being defensible at equity instead (which the courts were reluctant to overturn). There can be no serious doubt that John VI owned and inhabited the house in his latter years and that it remained in family ownership until as late as 1907. This is clear from the archives of the Brighton solicitors Fitzhugh Gates (now at East Sussex, Brighton and Hove Record Office) who acted for the personal representatives of the last Austens to live there, John Austen VII's daughters Marianne and Catherine Frances. The papers include an inventory of contents dated 1852, following John VII's death, and particulars of the sale of contents by Cronks Auctioneers following Catherine Frances's death. She and Marianne had lived there in some style, among Chippendale furniture, complete sets of the works of Gibbon, Johnson, Pope, Swift, Sir Walter Scott, and their father's cousin Jane Austen, and also an Érard piano, indicating a family loyalty to this manufacturer of stringed instruments.⁹



Front elevation of 18 High Street.

So, the house had been in the family for nearly 200 years, and it is strange that its Austen associations seem all but forgotten. Sir John Dunlop, author of a standard history of Sevenoaks, did not pick them up from Brade-Birks's unpublished work. The Old House did not even get an entry of its own in the recently published *Sevenoaks Dictionary*, which only mentioned its later use as a retirement home for Salvation Army officers in the 1950s.¹⁰

Canon Brade-Birks quoted the conveyance to Mary Austen of 6-7 March 1729/30 which described the house as 'all that new built Messuage or Tenement, late an Inn called or known by the Name of the Catts'. Dunlop, who identified this predecessor as *The Three Cats* (so we can be confident the inn sign portrayed more than one animal) also located the inn here.¹¹ Late in life, Jane Edwards (1792-1868)

recorded her recollections of Sevenoaks which would have gone back to the last years of the eighteenth century. She too had heard that on the site of 56 High Street (as No 18 then was) had been ‘once a very large Inn; some have thought, that it was the one, that Fryth (the Martyr’s father) lived in’.¹² The date of the present main building, and of the three narrower Queen Anne-style terrace houses adjoining it to the north, 20, 22 and 24, High Street, with which it forms a composite group, is estimated both by John Newman¹³ and in the National Heritage list entry to be about 1700.



Angled view, left to right, of 24, 22, 20 and 18 High Street.

Though the Old House lacks a central passageway for carriages to pass through to an inner courtyard, the list entry suggests that

the lead arch of rubbed red headers to [the] extreme left above [the] moulded brick band with projecting moulded brick voussoir in [the] centre ... probably indicates that the elevation has been altered at some time, and that there was originally a covered yard entrance to [the] extreme left giving access to stables to rear.¹⁴

If one sees the four houses as a single entity, built at the same time, that archway to the stables would have been placed near the centre and served all four, perhaps replicating the layout of the previous inn which probably occupied the whole of their space. Unless the deeds re-surface, it is impossible to be much more precise about the date of the present buildings. *The Catts* had disappeared from the licensing records for victualling houses in Sevenoaks by 1709, when twenty-one such premises were listed in Sevenoaks Town and Vine and Riverhead. With Mary French as its licensee, it last appears in a list which, though undated, probably postdates 1704.¹⁵ Christopher Rayner, a Sevenoaks native and a practising architect,

suggests that it made way for the present building about 1728 – very soon before Mary Austen’s purchase – though his source is not clear.¹⁶

The evidence has been examined in detail because the present 13-15 High Street, a building known as the Old Post Office on the west side of the street, has recently been proposed as a rival location for the *Three Cats* Inn and on this basis, as the childhood home of the Protestant martyr John Frith (1503-1533).¹⁷ The Old Post Office probably dates from the fifteenth century but is difficult to equate with the layout of an inn, certainly not a ‘very large’ one. Unfortunately, this theory is based upon a misreading by the Sevenoaks historian Gordon Ward, who acquired the title deeds to the Old Post Office and the adjacent property to the south. Before these properties acquired a common owner, it was the latter, on the corner of High Street and Oak Lane, leased to William Lynes from 1713 or earlier as a wheelwrights’ workshop, which had been known as *the Catt* (in the singular) when owned by the brewer John Wood in the late seventeenth century.¹⁸

The Old House is a Grade II* listed building (this ranking or Grade I being attained by 8% of all listed buildings). This accolade may indeed have saved the building from destruction, for its position at the narrowest part of the High Street was perilous when this was part of the A21 London to Hastings road, and we must owe its survival to the Sevenoaks by-pass. The difficulty of viewing the front elevation from the distance that was surely intended may actually exaggerate the impression of length and elegance.

The grand, self-confident frontage, with its heavy projecting dentilled cornice and central pediment, is, however, somewhat deceptive, for the house is surprisingly shallow, no more than two smallish rooms between front and back, so that the rear rooms have required the more recent additions of two bay extensions. But I am advised by Peter Guillery, the architectural historian, that this is not so unusual a layout for a gentleman’s house in a market town. It is thought that the red brick addition (now 16 High Street), to the right of the main elevation, with its short screen wall framing a panelled and studded door that now serves as the entrance to Girls’ International House, dates from the late eighteenth century, which would make it an addition by John Austen VI. The rear elevation itself lacks the authority of the front, with many signs of later alterations: ill-matching brickwork, an ambiguous projecting line for the left bay, and window and doorcase replacements that have disturbed the symmetry of the whole. There is no integration of design with nos. 20-24 at the rear, and this may not have been attempted even in the original conception.

The interior too seems to retain few early features, except the chimneypiece headed by low-relief marble carving, also probably late eighteenth century work. The rather cramped stairwell, occupying only half the depth of the house rather than the whole, would never have been a display feature to impress a gentleman’s visitors. Any armorials have been removed. Some interior walls dividing the space, and their wooden panelling, may have been added by the Constant family who lived in the Old House between the departure of the Austens and the arrival of the Salvationists.



Rear elevation, left to right, of 16 and 18 High Street.

Jane Edwards has provided us with a strong visual impression of John Austen VI and his wife Joanna in her recollections:

As long back as I can remember, old Mr and Mrs John Austen lived here; they were both old, and very antique in their appearance: the old gentleman was rather stout and tall, he wore a sort of clerical hat, very handsome Ruffles, large silver buckles, and walked with a gold headed cane. I should say that he had been a very handsome man; his wife generally wore handsome silk dresses, black silk Cloaks (both long and scant) trimmed very handsomely with lace etc – a very large Bonnet (either white or straw) with large bows of ribbon, behind and before; she was a lady, and dressed like one. The old gentleman was very particular and nothing annoyed him more than the people leaving the doors open, so he had painted in large letters on the side doors (where the tradespeople entered) “Shut all doors after you.” This they could not help seeing, as the doors were black and the letters white.¹⁹

Their only child, a daughter Mary, born (like her father and aunts) in Sevenoaks, in 1760, is unmentioned in Jane Edwards’s recollections, and she remained unmarried. This fact would not have gone unnoticed by her second cousin Jane Austen. Even if she lacked inside knowledge of John VI’s intentions for the estate, she would have suspected Mary was not likely to inherit it. Mary’s position was comparable to that of the Bennet sisters, stranded at the end of a fee tail to which only a son could succeed. Her indignant reaction on hearing the news of John VI’s will in 1807, recorded in a letter to Cassandra dated 20-22 February 1807, is well-known, but it does not tell the whole story. He had allowed for various contingencies and did leave his estates to Mary, and theoretically her heirs, on his widow Joanna’s death and both women were named as his executrices. In the event, Mary died in 1803, predeceasing both of her parents. The response of Mrs Elizabeth Humphry, the vicar of Seal’s wife, was ‘What a happy release!’²⁰ a strange comment to mark

the passing of a forty-three-year old woman, unless Mary had suffered from some sort of chronic illness or physical handicap. This might lie behind her father's insistence on visitors shutting the doors behind them, the expected contingency in his will that 'she shall continue to live and reside with her Mother and remain single and unmarried', and his legacy of an annuity to Abigail Dryamond, 'my daughter's servant'.²¹ The tradesmen's entrance referred to by Jane Edwards is with little doubt that created in John VI's own recent extension.

Francis Austen had acted as one of his elder brother's executors. His relationship with John V's widow until she died in 1759, and his nephew John VI, rather than one of estrangement, was probably marked by close collaboration, if their treatment of the Fermor family inheritance is typical. The Fermor parish charity in Sevenoaks and the school in Crowborough, Sussex, are named after their founder Sir Henry Fermor, and we are indebted to the Crowborough historian John Hackworth for rescuing the story of his family from obscurity. Like the Courthopes (one of whom, Alexander, acted as another executor to John Austen V) the Fermors had acquired wealth and a baronetcy through gunfounding: in their case in Rotherfield, where they acquired the manor of Walshes. Colonel John Fermor, a professional soldier who had fought at Malplaquet, moved to Sevenoaks about 1717 and fathered an illegitimate child, who was first given the name John Boorder, in 1719. Colonel Fermor then died in 1722, and Sir Henry Fermor, his elder brother, who had moved into his vacated Sevenoaks home, was anxious to settle his own estate upon this nephew, following the deaths of his own offspring. But Sir Henry himself died in 1734, leaving endowments for his intended charities in Sevenoaks and Crowborough, and Francis Austen assumed responsibility not only for his brother John's small children but also for John Fermor's illegitimate son. In 1746 he arranged the marriage between John Boorder – who assumed the Fermor name to inherit the family lands from Sir Henry – and John Austen V's daughter Elizabeth. Once ordained, John Fermor was installed as chaplain of All Saints Chapel, Crowborough, though he continued to live in Sevenoaks. There is no need to suppose that the attitude of Francis Austen, nor of his son Francis Motley, towards the Fermor fortune was entirely disinterested. Eventually, in the marriage settlement of John and Elizabeth Fermor's second son, John Shirley Fermor, in 1785, some Fermor lands and endowments were shared not only with the bride's family, but also with the groom's cousin, Francis Motley Austen, and uncle, John Austen VI. Another notable Fermor asset, the advowson of Crayford, was acquired by Francis Motley Austen on John Shirley Fermor's death, and it was this that enabled his son the Revd John Austen VII to acquire the living of Chevening in exchange.²²

Can we conclude anything of wider significance from John Austen VI's occupation of the Old House after his mother's death in 1759? Certainly, it implies that, like his father, he wished to live in town as well as on a rural estate. For the following century, the Horsmonden estates become a rural outpost, a source of livelihood for the Austens but not a place in which to spend much time until they returned there to be buried. It remained important to John Austen VI that

his woodlands there, such as Hook Wood, were well managed and efficiently coppiced.²³ But he leased Grovehurst in 1772 to a yeoman farmer, reserving its timber and game, and Hook Wood, to himself; and the Revd John Austen VII was to lease Grovehurst again in 1812.²⁴ John VI would have valued his proximity to his sister Elizabeth and brother-in-law John Fermor, who despite the living in Crowborough, continued to reside close by, at Knole Paddock, in Sevenoaks; and also to the legal and business acumen of Uncle Francis. Francis enjoyed a steady income from drafting parliamentary bills which established one turnpike trust after another, and with him John VI co-operated in setting up the Kippings Cross trust as trustee and treasurer respectively.²⁵ John VI was still presiding as a magistrate at the West Kent quarter-sessions into his late seventies. Francis too valued the family proximity: after his second wife, Jane Lennard, and John Fermor had both died, the widowed Elizabeth kept house for him at the Red House.²⁶

In a different way from those modest Horsmonden manor houses, the Old House provides evidence of the minor gentry status which the senior line of Austens was now born to. Their younger siblings had to work hard professionally or marry well if they were to attain even comparable comfort for themselves. The good fortune which enabled Jane Austen's brother Edward to be adopted by his distant relatives the Knights, and to inherit their houses of Godmersham and Chawton, grander county seats in comparison, might be regarded as a somewhat freakish accident, but one which provided his poor-relation sister with a view into a different stratum of society. In comparison, Broadford, Grovehurst, and even The Old House (despite initial appearances) represent normality. But Francis Motley Austen, though not of the senior line, had inherited enough wealth from his parents to aspire to more, and it is to the homes of Old Francis and his descendants that we shall turn in the concluding part of this article in the 2023 *Annual Report*.

Notes

1. I am grateful for the kindness of Vivian Branson and Margaret Wilson, who have suggested references; Peter Guillery, for his architectural advice; and Nichola Haworth, housemistress of Girls' International House, for showing me the interior and rear of the house: none are to be blamed for the conclusions I have reached.
2. Dirk FitzHugh, 'Such ill-gotten wealth can never prosper': the nineteenth century Austens of Broadford and Capel Manor, Kent', *Annual Report* for 2020, pp.96-102; Janine Barchas, 'The Énard Harp Ledgers: a correction, new Austen connections, and resource description', *Annual Report* for 2020, pp.32-38.
3. Clare Graham, 'Mrs Austen and Mr Fenton: Housekeeper and Headmaster', *Annual Report* for 2009, pp.53-64. Mark Ballard, 'Tales of Inheritance from West Kent', in *Jane Austen's Geographies*, ed. Robert Clark (New York and London, 2018), pp.68-94, attempts to see these events from John III's point of view.

4. *Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel, 1695-1774*, ed. J. Foster (London, 1889), pp.xii, liv, xcv: a reference I owe to Margaret Wilson.
5. Ballard, 'Tales of Inheritance', p.76.
6. The National Archives (TNA), will of John Austen V, PROB 11/628/169.
7. S.G.Brade-Birks, *Jane Austen and the Kentish Scene* (unpublished, 1960), p.21. His previous impression about the Old House might be traced to a reading of R.A. Austen-Leigh, *Austen Papers, 1704-1856* (London, 1942), p.2.
8. Followed by Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 2013), p.56.
9. East Sussex, Brighton and Hove Record Office, Fitzhugh Gates archives, SAS-Acc 5090/70, 73.
10. *Sevenoaks, An Historical Dictionary*, ed. David Killingray and Elizabeth Purves (Andover, 2012).
11. J. Dunlop, *The pleasant town of Sevenoaks* (Sevenoaks, 1964), p.121.
12. Jane Edwards, *Her recollections of old Sevenoaks* (Sevenoaks Society, 1985), p.66.
13. John Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald* (2nd edition, London, 1976), p.515.
14. <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1204256?section=official-list-entry>
15. Kent History Centre (KHLC) PS/Se/Sm 1; Q/RLv 3/20. The latter may be approximately dated due to the inclusion of another inn, the *Duke of Marlborough's Head*, which seems unlikely to have received such a name before the duke's victory at Blenheim.
16. Christopher Rayner, *Sevenoaks Past, with the Villages of Holmesdale* (Chichester, 1997), p.78
17. Brian Raynor, *John Frith, Scholar and Martyr* (Otford, 2000), chapter 1.
18. KHLC U1000/10 T29.
19. Jane Edwards, *Recollections*, pp.66-67.
20. G. and G.M.G. Woodgate, *A History of the Woodgates of Stonewall Park and Sumerhill in Kent* (1910), pp.302-3.
21. KHLC U78 T325: will of John Austen VI.
22. John Hackworth, *Sir Henry Fermor School, 1744-1994: A History* (Crowborough, 1994), pp.5-7, 17-24, 33-35; Peter Brandon, *The Kent and Sussex Weald* (Chichester, 2003), p.134-7; Ballard, 'Tales of inheritance', pp.76-7, 84.
23. KHLC U36 P25: map of Hook Wood in Horsmonden after 1776.
24. KHLC U1080 T6/1-2.
25. Bryan Keith-Lucas, 'Francis and Francis Motley Austen, clerks of the Peace for Kent', in *Studies in Modern Kentish History*, ed. A.Detsicas and N.Yates (Maidstone, 1983), pp.87-102.
26. Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: A Family Record*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2004) p.64.

*Mrs M. Purvis – ‘the Memorial Trust’s
greatest benefactress’*

Stephanie Emo

Jane Austen’s House holds the archive of the correspondence of Mr T. Edward Carpenter who purchased Chawton Cottage in 1948 and, with the help of the Jane Austen Society, founded the Museum in 1949.

Among Mr Carpenter’s correspondence is a receipt dated 27 July 1950 from Mallett & Son Antiques Ltd. of New Bond Street, London.¹ The receipt, for £93 10 shillings, is for ‘An 18th century miniature jewel. The miniature by John Smart, set in a border of diamonds, is of Mrs Henry Austen’. The Mrs Henry Austen in question was Jane’s brother Henry’s first wife (and first cousin) Eliza Hancock, Comtesse de Feuillide.

Mr Carpenter had been alerted to the sale of the miniature by Society member Miss Winifred Watson.² Concerned that the item might be sold to an overseas purchaser, Mr Carpenter moved swiftly, using his own funds to secure the relic for the Memorial Trust. Wanting to find out as much about the provenance of the miniature as he could, he immediately set about trying to trace the miniature’s original owner. Malletts had acquired the miniature from the jewellers Bracher & Sydenham of Reading in Berkshire. Mr Carpenter wrote to Bracher & Sydenham, enclosing a letter which he asked to be forwarded to the original vendor. Within days, he received a response from Mrs Purvis of Burghfield Common, Berkshire. Thus began a regular correspondence between Mr Carpenter and Mrs Purvis which spanned the next fourteen years until shortly before her death in 1964.

Mrs Purvis was the widow of George F.G. Purvis, a great-grandson of Jane’s fifth brother, Admiral Sir Francis Austen through his eldest child, Mary Jane Austen. At the time Mr Carpenter contacted her, Mrs Purvis was seventy-three years old, had been a widow for fourteen years and had no children. In a letter dated 28 July 1950, she explained that she had sold the miniature along with most of the rest of her jewellery when she was very ill, as she had no one to leave it to ‘who would be in the least interested’.³

In her letter she told Mr Carpenter that the miniature had been given to her by her husband’s eldest sister, Mary Jane Austen Way, née Purvis. In turn, it had been given to Mary Jane by her aunt Mary Renira Purvis. Mary Renira was the second child of Mary Jane, Sir Francis’ eldest daughter. Mary Renira had married quite late in life and for several years before her marriage had been the companion of Henry Austen’s second wife, Eleanor, after Eleanor was widowed in 1850. The miniature, which had belonged to Henry’s first wife Eliza, had passed to Eleanor, who bequeathed it to Mary Renira.

Originally a ring, the miniature had been adapted into a brooch and both Mrs Purvis and her sister-in-law Mrs Way were in the habit of wearing it. In one letter, Mrs Purvis relates how

Mrs Way was one day at a big dinner party in London. She was wearing the miniature. Mr Breitmyer (the great diamond merchant) said to her “Excuse me, what a lovely miniature you are wearing!” She said “Oh! Yes, it’s my ancestor’s but I believe it’s set in paste.” He said, “Excuse me, they are exceptionally fine brilliants and I ought to know!”⁴

A brilliant is the finest cut that can be given to a rough diamond and they are therefore the most sought after. This good news does not seem to have deterred either lady from continuing to wear the miniature.

The provenance and quality of the miniature were clear, but research by Mr Carpenter, aided by Austen descendant Richard Austen-Leigh and the Victoria & Albert Museum, revealed that although the miniature had belonged to Eliza Hancock, the subject was not her, but her mother Philadelphia, Mr Austen’s sister. In the first of many generous acts, Mrs Purvis refunded the money Mr Carpenter had paid for the miniature. She also donated several Austen related pieces, including a watercolour by Jane’s sister Cassandra, Mary Jane Austen’s worktable and letters from Sir Francis to his daughter Mary Jane. Perhaps most importantly, over the next few years she made generous financial contributions to the Museum’s fledgling endowment fund.



Sterne’s Maria by Cassandra Austen. Courtesy of Jane Austen’s House.

There are 148 letters from Mrs Purvis in the archive of Mr Carpenter’s correspondence, but, even as the friendship developed over the fourteen years of their correspondence, her letters contain very little information about herself or her family. Some basic genealogical research reveals she was born May Peel in July 1878, one of at least ten children born to wealthy Manchester cotton merchant William Felton Peel and his wife Sarah, and a distant cousin of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel. In 1900, at the age of twenty-two, she married George

F.G. Purvis; George was forty-one years old and the Director General of the Egyptian Coastguard Service. The Peel family cotton trading business was divided between Manchester and Alexandria and May travelled with her family to Alexandria on at least one occasion. A diary kept by one of the maids accompanying May and her family records the trip in 1897 including the visit of a 'Mr Pervice' for lunch on 2 November.⁵ The couple married in Tamworth at the Peel family seat in September 1900, the bride wearing an empire gown of white oriental satin and a picture hat trimmed with ostrich feathers and orange blossom.⁶

George retired from his role in the Egyptian coastguard in 1922 and the couple set up home in Burghfield Common, Berkshire. George Purvis seems to have inherited his great-grandfather, Sir Francis' love of woodworking and had a well-equipped carpentry workshop in the grounds of his house.⁷ Sadly, he died in a road accident in 1936.⁸

Mrs Purvis clearly loved literature and she and Mr Carpenter often exchanged views on various authors. She had a great love for the classics – Austen, Dickens, Thackeray – but was frequently scathing about modern authors. She felt Somerset Maugham was 'overrated',⁹ Elizabeth Jenkins 'too introspective',¹⁰ Andrew Wright's book on Jane Austen's novels 'not up to much'¹¹ and didn't 'like Elizabeth Bowen at all'.¹²

Mrs Purvis herself had a brief career as an author, writing two books of verse for children – *Rosemary* and *Rosemary again* – under the nom de plume 'Queen Mary Rose'. Following the publication of the first book, *Rosemary* in 1950, she regularly signed her letters to Mr Carpenter 'Queen Mary Rose'.

In a number of her letters, Mrs Purvis bemoans the difficulty of getting domestic staff and arrangements for Mr Carpenter to visit for lunch or afternoon tea were quite frequently postponed due to domestic difficulties. In his excellent book *Soldier of the Raj – the life of Richard Purvis*, author Iain Gordon describes visiting Mrs Purvis, his wife's great aunt, in the late 1950s to find her

clearly in some distress: her housekeeper had gone down with influenza and she had no idea of how to make the tea herself. She had located the kitchen and identified what she believed to be a kettle but, beyond that, the transaction was a mystery to her. My wife told her not to worry and soon had things under control.¹³

Throughout the period of her correspondence with Mr Carpenter, Mrs Purvis was



*Mary Jane Austen's work-table.
Courtesy of Jane Austen's House.*

often in very poor health with several spells spent in a nursing home. Her letters are frequently punctuated with apologies for the shortness of the letter (even when they run to four pages or more), explaining that the doctor had forbidden her to write until she was stronger. Her desire to share with Mr Carpenter her love of Jane Austen and her considerable knowledge of her husband's family meant doctor's orders were very frequently ignored!

Mrs Purvis died aged eighty-six in July 1964. In her final few days, she asked her nurse to write to Mr Carpenter to tell him she was thinking 'constantly of him and sends him and Mrs Carpenter her best love'.¹⁴

Mr Carpenter, keen to erect a memorial to her in the Museum, asked her niece, Miss Irene Hogg, for a photograph of Mrs Purvis. Unfortunately, she was unable to help as no photo was known to exist which is extraordinary given Mrs Purvis' longevity and privileged background. Iain Gordon remembers her as 'small but stately. Her dress, manners and conduct were very correct.... she was a dead ringer for Queen Mary and when she alighted from her chauffeur-driven car all the women around would curtsy!'¹⁵

In the Jane Austen Society *Report* of 1956, Mr Carpenter described Mrs Purvis as the 'Trust's greatest benefactress'.¹⁶ Not only did she refund Mr Carpenter the money he had paid for the miniature and donate other Austen artefacts that had passed through her husband's side of the family, she made substantial monetary donations to the Trust's endowment fund at a time when Mr Carpenter was struggling to get the museum onto a sound financial footing. By doing so, she played a large part in helping secure its future. We who enjoy the Museum today owe her a considerable debt of gratitude.

Notes

1. JAH TEC archive: letter 566.
2. JAH TEC archive: letter 579.
3. JAH TEC archive: letter 568.
4. JAH TEC archive: letter 703.
5. Diary of Kate Jones: *Three Shires Genealogy: Crewe Alexandr(i)a: Part 1*
6. *Nuneaton Observer* 21 September 1900.
7. *Soldier of the Raj – the life of Richard Purvis*, by Iain Gordon; with the author's permission.
8. *Reading Standard* 15 May 1936.
9. JAH TEC archive: letter 1615.
10. JAH TEC archive: letter 789.
11. JAH TEC archive: letter 1283.
12. JAH TEC archive: letter 750.
13. *Soldier of the Raj – the life of Richard Purvis*.
14. JAH TEC archive: letter 4728 (old numbering).
15. Email from Iain Gordon to Stephanie Emo 20 August 2021.
16. Jane Austen Society *Annual Reports 1949-1965*, p.89.

Evidence of payments of legacy duty on Jane Austen's estate

John Avery Jones

When writing about Death Duties on Jane Austen's estate in the 2019 *Report* I said 'The legacies to Henry and Mme Bigeon, being over £20 and not being given free of duty, would also have been chargeable to legacy duty at the 3% and 10% respectively for which Cassandra was accountable as executor, although I doubt if one could still find evidence of this.'¹ I spoke too soon, having since found the evidence in the form of the internal legacy duty office record in the illustration of which the following is a transcript omitting blank columns (items in bold are printed on the form).²

768 ³ Jane Austen late of Chawton Hants Spt ⁴	Date of Will	Executors, their Residence and profession AB ⁵	Where and when proved	Sworn under	No 3 ⁶	234 768
who died the [blank] day of 18	27 April 1817	Cassandra Eliz ⁶ Austen (Sister) Chawton Hants Spt ⁷	Prerogative Court of Canterbury 10 th Sept 1817 Tebbs ⁷	£800 ⁸	Cash Received	

	Legacies in Cash	Legatees	Consanguinity	What deemed	Value of Annuities and Bequests	Rate of Duty	Total Amount of Duty	Date	Total Duty
1	50	to Henry Austen	Bro ⁹	Abs ⁹	50	3	1.10	1817 Decr 20	1.10
2	50	to M ^{re} J Bidgeon	Str ¹⁰	d ⁹	50	10	5	"	5
3		Residue to Cassandra E Austen	Sister	Do	561.2	3	16.16.8	1817 Nov 15	16.16.8

³ Sept¹¹

Acct 1756-1817¹²

Extract from Jane Austen's legacy duty record, National Record Office.

The accompanying illustration is an extract from the original record which is too wide to reproduce in full.

Legatees	Consanguinity	Upon what contingency or if in Succession of equal Rate.	What deemed.	Amount of Annuity.	Age.	Value of Annuities and Bequests brought forward.	Rate of Duty.	Total Amount of Duty.
Henry Austen	Bro		Ab			50	3	1.10
M ^{re} J Bidgeon	Sr		d			50	10	5
Cassandra E Austen	Sister		d			561.2	3	16.16.8

While on the subject of legacy duty on Jane Austen's estate, I drew attention in that piece to the fact that no jewellery had been declared in the Legacy Duty Account prepared by Cassandra as executor, in spite of there being several known items. It appears from the letter of wishes accompanying Cassandra's will (see 'Cassandra Austen's Last Years and Wishes, with New Documents and Transcriptions' in this

Report) that a more serious omission from the Account is that Jane also owned a gold watch. Cassandra's letter expressed the wish to leave 'My gold watch & chain, which was dear Jane's ... for my brother Henry.—These articles all came from him'.¹³

I imagine that a gold watch and chain would have been quite valuable and so its omission is more serious than that of her rings, although it is fair to say that if she made a lifetime gift of jewellery to Cassandra, there would be no legacy duty. It is also strange that there seems to be no record of Jane (or subsequently Cassandra) owning it. Elizabeth Bennet owned a watch so it cannot have been that unusual for a lady of Jane's class to own one: 'After walking several miles in a leisurely manner, and too busy to know anything about it, they [Elizabeth and Darcy] found at last, on examining their watches that it was time to be at home.'¹⁴ Presumably the watch and chain were worn round the neck. Henry must have given the watch to Jane when he was a wealthy banker prior to his bankruptcy in 1816.

Notes

1. 2019 *Report* p.44 and n 2 p.48. There is more information about legacy duty in that article.
2. TNA IR 26/698 f 780. These records are most easily accessed on <https://www.familysearch.org/en/> clicking on Search/catalog/keywords and entering 'death duty,' then choosing eg Death duty register for wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and country courts, 1812-1857. This will bring up the list of items that can be seen in a library listed at <https://www.familysearch.org/locations> of which there seem to be many in the UK and other countries. They are also available on microfilm in the National Archives but the quality of the image is better on FamilySearch.
3. Folio number of the record (repeated in the Cash Received cell, where 234 is the printed page number of the book of these forms).
4. Spinster (and the same two columns to the right).
5. Presumably the record for surnames A and B.
6. This might be that this is the third book of surnames A and B of the year.
7. The name of the Proctor (equivalent of a solicitor in the Ecclesiastical Courts) who filed the papers in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Doctors' Commons).
8. The band for probate duty £600 to £800 on which the duty was £15 which the Proctor would mark-up by £2.18.2 under 'Probate under Seal and Stamp'.
9. Absolute gift not subject to any contingency.
10. Stranger (in blood).
11. I do not know what this relates to.
12. The reference of the Residuary Account which is summarised in the 2019 *Report*.
13. See 'Cassandra Austen's Last Years and Wishes, with New Documents and Transcriptions' in this *Report*.
14. *P and P* ch 58.

Notes on Sales 2022

Christine Penney

2022 has been an excellent year. I can report two of Jane Austen's original manuscript letters, the first thought to have been long lost and only known in a copy, and the second acquired under the Acceptance in Lieu scheme; the reappearance of Anne Sharp's presentation copy of *Emma* and the sale of the David Gilson and Chris Viveash collection by Dominic Winter on 7 September, with a few more items in their sale on 15 December. The introduction to the first catalogue contained a tribute to both of these great modern collectors, describing them as 'familiar and friendly faces at book auctions, in second-hand bookshops and at book fairs across the country over many decades'. David Gilson gave his primary Jane Austen collection to King's College, Cambridge in the late 1980s, and it was augmented by the collection of his friend Dorothy Warren. However, he and Chris Viveash continued to collect from the 1990s onwards and it was this collection that I saw on a memorable visit to them in Swindon in April 1997 – sitting on the floor after lunch, while Chris did the washing up and David handed me treasure after treasure.

Manuscripts

Lot 155 at Bonhams on 23 March was Jane Austen's short letter to her niece Anna Lefroy, written on a Thursday, conveying her mother's thanks for a turkey – no. 147C in Deirdre Le Faye's edition, dated as probably December 1816. The original was then untraced and Deirdre saw only the copy in the 'Lefroy Manuscript', a compilation of notes on family history made by Anna. The copy was made by Anna's daughter, Fanny Caroline, who also transcribed it in her own family history manuscript. Deirdre transcribed Fanny's explanatory comment, giving the approximate date: 'This note was written in the winter of 1816 & the original is in the possession of W. Chambers Lefroy the Grandson of the Receiver'. R.W. Chapman saw only the copy in the 'Lefroy Manuscript', then in the possession of Anna's granddaughter, Mary Isabella Lefroy, who donated the manuscript of *Sanditon* to King's College Cambridge. The original autograph letter offered by Bonhams was rediscovered the year before the auction, in a box containing papers of a descendant of the Lefroy family. The manuscript consisted of one page, written in brown ink on a bifolium watermarked [G]alter [18]15. There was a small stain in the top right corner, it was folded and addressed on the reverse to 'Mrs B. Lefroy/ Wyards' contained in an envelope inscribed 'Autograph of Jane Austen' and with the blue Lefroy family crest, incorporating the motto 'Mutare sperno' stamped on the flap. It measured 111 x 94mm. The watermark was used by the Hampshire firm of John and William Gater, Up Mills, West End, South Stoneham. The Morgan Library has several Jane Austen letters on Gater's paper, including one to Cassandra from the same period dated 8 January 1817.

The estimate was £60,000-£80,000 and it sold for £75,250.

I am grateful to Kathryn Sutherland for alerting me to the acquisition in April by Jane Austen's House of Letter no.10 in Deirdre's edition. Written from Steventon to Cassandra on 27-28 October 1798 it includes the account of Mrs Hall's recent delivery of a stillborn baby, owing to a fright – 'I suppose she happened unawares to look at her husband'. One of the earliest letters known to survive, it was among those bequeathed to Jane Austen's niece Fanny, by Cassandra Austen, and inherited by Fanny's son, Lord Brabourne in 1882. It came to the museum through the Acceptance in Lieu scheme, administered by the Arts Council and negotiated by Cheffins Auctioneers, Cambridge, to settle £140,000 in tax. In March 2022, the Acceptance in Lieu Panel of Arts Council England and the Secretary of State approved the placing of Le Faye no. 10 with Jane Austen's House in Chawton to be kept there in the public interest. The letter was included in the Arts Council's Cultural Gifts Scheme and Acceptance in Lieu Report for 2022. Jane Austen's House took possession of the letter in April 2022. It will be on public display in Spring 2023. Four letters coming to Chawton two years running in two years is pretty good.

First and early editions

Sense and Sensibility

Lot 580 at Dominic Winter on 15 December was a copy of the first edition, 1811 (Gilson A1). It had the half-titles and final blanks to all three volumes, and early ink ownership names to the front free endpaper versos, reading '122 / Parker'. It also had later ballpoint pen ownership inscriptions in neat small capitals, reading 'ex libris Brent Gratton-Maxfield 1970', with additional pencil collation and notes in his hand to the first free endpaper verso. The binding was contemporary polished calf with single gilt fillet borders, matching antique-style rebacks with gilt-titled morocco labels, five raised bands, gilt rules and roman numerals. Brent Gratton-Maxfield (1916-1983) was a notable book collector. His collection was mostly dispersed by Sotheby's in a series of sales in the 1980s. I wonder if he used a biro in all his books. Despite this desecration the estimate of £40,000 - £60,000 was exceeded, selling for £62,000.

Lot 340 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the second edition, 1813 (Gilson A2). It lacked the half-title to Vol. 2 and all three final blanks and was bound in twentieth century grey half calf over marbled boards, with the modern bookplates of Chris Viveash and a pencil purchase note by David Gilson at the rear of Vol.1, noting that it was bought from Jarndyce on 22 September 1995. 1995 was the year I took over the compilation of these *Notes* from him but I evidently missed this copy. The estimate was £4,000 - £6,000 but it sold for only £2,900.

Item 19 in Jarndyce's Catalogue CCLX, their annual miscellany of 300 items, was another copy. Bound without half-titles in full brown calf, expertly rebacked, with gilt and elaborate blind borders, it had the library label of Easton Neston on the leading pastedowns. Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, was a country house

designed in the Baroque style by Nicholas Hawksmoor and commissioned by William Fermor, 1st Baron Leominster, (1648–1711). The library from which this copy came was built largely by Frederick Fermor-Hesketh, 2nd Baron Hesketh (1916–1955). Much of it was sold by Sotheby's in 2010 but there were presumably no Jane Austen items, as the sale does not feature in my *Notes* for that year. David Gilson has a note on the house in his bibliography at M399. Lady Margaret Vaux of Harrowden suggested, in the *TLS* for 18 March 1920 (page 188), that Easton Neston was the original for Mansfield Park. This was disputed in the issues of 8 and 15 April, one of the objections being that Jane Austen never visited Northamptonshire. Perhaps that explains why she asked Cassandra to 'discover whether Northamptonshire is a Country of Hedgerows' on 29 January 1813, (Letter 29). The price was £10,500.

Lot 348 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the first American edition, 1833 (Gilson B6). It was in the original linen-weave, cloth-backed boards, rubbed and soiled, the spine frayed with some loss, and some corner and edge wear, contained in a purpose-made morocco-backed book box with the modern bookplate of Chris Viveash on the inner lid, gilt-titled on the spine. The blank and advertisement leaf were bound before the title in Vol.1 and the final advertisement leaf to Vol. 2 was bound before the title. The bookplate of the Library of the Peithologian Society, Wesleyan University was on the front pastedown of Vol. 1, and the later bookplates of Jerral Carlisle Raymond, (who also signed his name in ballpoint pen in several places), on both pastedowns. David Gilson's pencil purchase note at the end of Vol. 1 recorded it was bought from Dennis Gouey at the H.D. Book Fair, Royal National Hotel, London, 21 June 1997. The estimate was £700 - £1,000 and it sold for £1,000.

Pride and Prejudice

Lot 1007 at Sotheby's, New York on 21 July was a fine association copy of the first edition, 1813 (Gilson A3) – the copy belonging to Fanny Burney's sister Sarah Harriet. It has been doing the rounds since 1961. David Gilson records it on page 28 of his bibliography as Lot 156 at Sotheby's (London) on 30 October that year, when it sold for only £24. (I had done my A levels that year and was still at school doing university applications – if only I had known, my carefully hoarded pocket money might just have run to it.) The catalogue notes record this sale, together with a later one at Sotheby's New York on 18 June 2004 when it was Lot 332. My *Notes on Sales* for 2004 did not pick up this copy, but that for 2005 did. Simon Finch offered it at the ABA International Book Fair on 9–12 June, for £55,000. His description was similar to that in the New York catalogue, which states the binding as nineteenth century half green morocco, lacking the original half-titles, and now in a custom-made black clamshell case. The upper board to Vol. 3 was detached and other joints were starting to go. According to the internet this copy was also Lot 36518 at Heritage Auction Galleries in April 2011, which I missed. Sarah's signatures were on the title pages and she evidently read it soon after acquiring it, writing to Elizabeth Carrick in December 1813 in

raptures. Although David Gilson quotes many contemporary comments in A3 (vii), page 25, he didn't include Sarah Burney's, but the Sotheby's catalogue did: 'Yes, I have read the book you speak of, "Pride & Prejudice", and I could quite rave about it! How well you define one of its characteristics when you say of it, that it breathes a spirit of "careless originality."' (Clark, Lorna J., ed., *The Letters of Sarah Harriet Burney* Vol. I, p.214n). The estimate was \$100,000 - \$150,000. It sold for \$126,000, but Sotheby's told me it actually sold for \$100,000 and \$126,000 was the aggregate price.

Lot 581 at Dominic Winter on 15 December was another copy. All half-titles were present and an old ink library shelf-mark '16228' on the front free endpaper verso was struck through in pencil and re-numbered '2421'. The edges were marbled and the binding was contemporary polished calf gilt, with double gilt fillet borders, gilt-decorated spines, each with two red morocco labels and floral tools to compartments. Vol.1 was rebaked with the original spine relaid. Estimated at £60,000 - £80,000 it sold for £92,000.

Lot 156 at Dominic Winter on 6 April was a copy of the second edition, 1813 (Gilson A4). The half-titles were present, and the title to the first volume had an early ink annotation: 'By the late Miss Jane Austen'. The edges untrimmed, it was bound in modern boards with printed title labels to the spines of each volume. The estimate was £3,000 - £5,000, well exceeded by the result - £12,000.

Another copy was Lot 101 at Forum Auctions on 14 July. It had the half-titles, (Vol.1 with C. Roworth's imprint to the verso) but the titles were supplied from the first edition, 1813 (Gilson A3). The front pastedowns bore the armorial bookplates of John Croft Devereall. It was bound in late nineteenth century polished calf, the spines gilt in compartments with red and brown morocco labels, and held in a slip-case. Estimated at £8,000 - £12,000 it sold for only £7,500

Lot 343 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the third edition, 1817 (Gilson A5). The two volumes were bound together, with the half-title and final blank at the rear of Vol. 1. It was in contemporary brown cloth gilt, lettered 'Miss Austin's - Pride and - Prejudice', rubbed and soiled, and rebaked with the original spine relaid. Chris Viveash's bookplate was on the front pastedown. A Pickering & Chatto pencil note was dated 1937 and David Gilson's pencil note on the rear pastedown recorded the purchase from Jarndyce on 22 September 1995. David noted in his bibliography (page 42) that 'the price on publication was 12s. Sales may not have been rapid; two copies have been seen in what appeared to be later remainder cloth bindings'. The catalogue suggested this might be one of them. The estimate was £1,500 - £2,000 and it did well, selling for £5,200.

Lot 347 at the same sale was a copy (Vol. 2 only) of the first American edition of *Elizabeth Bennet; or, Pride and Prejudice*, 1832 (Gilson B2). Lacking the cancelled first and last blanks and the paper spine label, it was untrimmed, in the original linen-weave, cloth-backed drab plain boards, with the upper cover detached. Chris Viveash's ownership label was on the front pastedown and David Gilson's pencil note on the rear recorded its purchase from Toby English, Wallingford in May 1994. A compliments slip, offering David the copy, said it

had been bought in Pisa. Only 750 copies were printed. David comments ‘Copies rarely appear at auction, but all those noted have been in original boards uncut’ (Gilson, p.104). Dominic Winter has found only two copies at auction since the 1970s, both complete in two volumes. The estimate was £700 - £1,000 and it sold for £1,200.

Mansfield Park

Lot 341 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the first edition, 1814 (Gilson A6). It lacked all three half-titles, the final blank O4 in Vol. 2 and the advertisement leaf R4 at the end of Vol.3. It was bound in late nineteenth century half calf gilt over marbled boards with morocco spine labels. It had the modern bookplates of Chris Viveash and a pencil note by David Gilson at the rear of Vol.1, stating it was purchased from James Burmester at the Bath Book Fair on 6 October 1995 (which I failed to pick up). The estimate was £5,000 - £8,000, but it sold for £13,000, a very good result.

Another copy was Lot 582 at Dominic Winter on 15 December. It lacked the half-titles to all three volumes, plus the final blank to Vol. 2 and the advertisement leaf at the end of Vol. 3. The armorial bookplates of C.H. Butler Clarke, Ulcombe, appeared on the front pastedowns, each pasted over an earlier armorial bookplate of the Earl of Ormond and Ossory, plus a pencil inscription ‘C. Comer’ [Castlecomer, home of Charles Butler Clarke Southwell (1849-81)] on the facing flyleaf. With speckled edges it was bound in contemporary half calf gilt over marbled boards, with small old printed paper labels at the head of the spines bearing numbers [1]485, 1487 and 1486. An additional label with ‘740’ was at the foot of the spine of Vol. 1. The estimate was £5,000 - £8,000 and it sold for £8,400

Emma

On 7 October the *Guardian* reported the recent sale by Peter Harrington of Anne Sharp’s presentation copy, inscribed on the titlepage by the publisher ‘From the Author’, of the first edition, 1816 (Gilson A8), for £375,000 – the highest price ever realised for a first edition of any of the novels. The anonymous American buyer insisted it should remain in England; Pom Harrington suggested Chawton House as the ideal location for a long loan and it went on show there in January 2023. Readers of these *Notes* may remember that this copy has appeared several times before, though for nearly 200 years after publication it was unrecorded. On 11 December 1815 (Letter 130) Jane Austen sent her instructions to John Murray: ‘I shall subjoin a list of those persons, to whom I must trouble you to forward also a Set each, when the Work is out; — all unbound, with From the Authoress, in the first page.—’ On page 68 of his bibliography David noted ‘no copy so inscribed is known to me’. However, on 13 July 2008, he sent me some photocopies from the catalogue of the Bonhams sale on 24 June, where it was Lot 107 with an estimate of £50,000 - £70,000. It sold for £180,000 – then the highest price ever recorded. As the next Lot, 108, consisted of four other books belonging to Anne Sharp, I assumed they were being sold by descendants of her family, possibly for

the first time, This copy later appeared on AbeBooks with Peter Harrington, for £325,000. In 2010 I recorded that it had been sold, for that price, by Christiaan Jonkers of Henley-on-Thames to an unnamed British collector. In 2012 it was Lot 86 at Sotheby's on 12 December – with an estimate of £150,000 - £200,000. Not surprisingly it did not sell and I suspected it was withdrawn by the owner who had purchased it in 2010. Pom Harrington has confirmed this, telling me it was he and Christiaan who had sold it to the unnamed purchaser in 2010 and that he bought it back from the same person in 2022. He sold it in July to the current owner. I hope I shall never again have to record its sale.

Another copy was Lot 179 at Forum Auctions on 10 February. The half-title to Vol.1 was at the end of the volume; those to Vols. 2 and 3 were missing. Ink ownership inscriptions, dated 1816, of Walter Campbell were on all the titles, and bookplates of the Campbell family on the pastedowns. The binding was contemporary half calf with some repairs and, cracking to joints. The estimate was £8,000 -£12,000 and it sold for £16,000.

Another copy was Lot 342 at Dominic Winter on 7 September. The half-titles were present, including the half-title to Vol. 1 (P6, final leaf) inserted at the front. An ink gift inscription to the head of the title of Vol.1 read 'Jeanie Blackley from Aunt Jane, a remembrance [slightly smudged], April [19]11', and a one-page letter was tipped in at the front of Vol. 1, written from 23 Bolton Street, [London], W., dated 15 March 1864. This was addressed to Jane, asking her to accept these books and saying, 'I am sorry the set is not more complete, but they will remind you of a friend', signed, in a shaky hand, 'Harriet C. Moore'. The binding was mid-nineteenth century reddish brown half roan gilt over cloth, with the modern bookplates of Chris Viveash to the front pastedowns. A pencil note by David Gilson at the rear of Vol. 1 stated that it was bought from Francis Edwards, Hay-on-Wye on 28 September 1995. David then added a note about the letter: 'The Harriet C. Moore whose letter is inserted at the front of this volume could be Harriot Moore, mentioned in Jane Austen's letter to Fanny Knight, 13 March 1817 (Letters, ed. Deirdre Le Faye, 1995, p.333), who was Fanny Knight's cousin, being the daughter of Harriot [Harriet] Mary Moore, née Bridges, 1781-1840, who was sister to Fanny's mother Elizabeth.' However, the auctioneer's research suggested that the eldest daughter of Harriot Mary Moore and her husband Revd George Moore (1770-1845) was called Harriet Maria Moore (1813 - unknown) and the shaky signature suggested it was written at a great age by someone more likely to have been a direct contemporary of Harriot Mary Moore. The estimate was £7,000 - £10,000 and it sold for £11,500.

Lot 583 at the Dominic Winter sale on 15 December was another copy, lacking the half-titles to all volumes. The front pastedown had small ex libris book labels, reading 'Sum Caroli Whibley', with a later pencil gift inscription to the front free endpaper of Vol. 1, reading 'Dorothy & Evan Charteris from E. Marsh, a wedding present 1930'. The binding was later nineteenth century calf, gilt-decorated spines with five raised bands, gilt-title labels and the author's name stamped in gilt at the foot of each. Charles Whibley (1859-1930) was a

bibliophile, best known for recommending T.S. Eliot to the attention of Geoffrey Faber. Sir Evan Charteris (1864-1940) was an English biographer, barrister and arts administrator. He published notable biographies of John Singer Sargent and of Edmund Gosse. In 1930 he married Lady Dorothy Margaret Browne (1888-1961), the widow of Lord Edward Grosvenor. E. Marsh may be Edward Marsh (1872-1953), British polymath, translator, arts patron and civil servant. The estimate was £8,000 - £12,000 and it sold for £12,800.

A copy of the first illustrated edition, 1833 (Gilson D2) was Lot 589 at Dominic Winter on 15 December. It had the half-title and was bound in modern dark blue half morocco. Estimated at £300 - £500 it sold for £380. Lot 591 in the same sale was the 1836 edition (Gilson D7). This had the half-title with library stamps to the verso, and a portrait of A H Niemeyer on the front pastedown. The estimate was £300 - £500 and it sold for £360.

Northanger Abbey and Persuasion

Lot 102 at Forum Auctions on 14 July was a copy of the first edition, 1818 (Gilson A9). Vol. 3 lacked the half-title and Vol. 4 the final two blanks. The book label of R Newman Price was on the front pastedowns. The binding was early twentieth century half calf with brown and green morocco labels. Estimated at £6,000 - £8,000 it had a disappointing result – £4,200.

Lot 344 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was another copy. It had all the half-titles and the final two blank leaves (P7-8) of Vol. 4, and was bound in contemporary half calf gilt over marbled boards. Chris Viveash's bookplates were present, with a pencil note by David Gilson at the rear of Vol.1, stating it was purchased from James Burmester in April 1996. I think this is the copy listed in my 1996 *Notes*, in Burmester's catalogue 31 for £3,500. The estimate was £5,000 - £8,000; it sold for £7,500.

Lot 584 at Dominic Winter on 15 December was another copy, lacking the half-title to Vol. 1. The contemporary ink ownership inscriptions at the head of the titles read 'Elizabeth Jane Gates, Novr. 12 1822'. The binding was contemporary polished calf with a blind-stamped border decoration within triple fillet gilt borders, gilt-decorated spines with leather spine labels, rebacked with the original spines relaid. Estimated at £5,000 - £8,000 it sold for only £6,400. Another copy was the next Lot, 585. The half-titles were present and a small neat ownership inscription (F.W Belli?) dated 'Dec 56' was on the front free endpapers (which were later mid-nineteenth century). The text block was trimmed closely to the lower margins, sometimes affecting catchwords and signatures, and a few leaves lacked the final line of text. It had spotting throughout and occasional damp staining affecting the text. The binding was late nineteenth century half calf and it was housed in a custom-made slipcase. The estimate was pretty low – £1,500 - £2,000. It sold for £1,900.

Lot 277 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the first illustrated edition published by Richard Bentley, 1833 (Gilson D4). With the half-title, frontispiece and additional engraved title, it was bound in early 20th-century red

cloth. The estimate was £150 - £200; it sold for £280.

Another copy was Lot 590 at the DominicWinter sale on 15 December. This had the half-title, additional printed titles to both volumes, the advertisement leaves to the front and a near contemporary ownership inscription on the front free endpaper. The binding was the original plum coloured cloth. The estimate was £500 - £700. It sold for £650.

Persuasion

Lot 346 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the first American edition, 1832 (Gilson B3). With heavy spotting and some browning throughout it was uncut and bound in the original linen-weave cloth-backed boards with printed paper labels on the spines. It lacked the publisher's catalogue at the rear of Vol. 1, which is only found in some copies. There was a large ink ownership inscription to the title of Vol 1, reading 'Frank Barlow, September 16/1896, Puebla, Mexico. Two vols. cost/07M'. It also had Spanish and English circulating library labels of Isidoro Devaux of San Francisco to the front pastedown and the modern bookplate of Chris Viveash to the pastedown of Vol. 2. David Gilson's pencil inscription at the rear of Vol. 1 recorded its purchase from J. Nelson, San Francisco, September 1996. It was a scarce edition, of which only 1,250 copies were printed and David noted 'relatively few copies are known to survive' (see his bibliography p.98). The estimate was £2,000 - £3,000; it sold for £3,800.

Collected editions

Lot 349 at DominicWinter on 7 September consisted of four of the five first illustrated editions of the novels, published by Richard Bentley in 1833, rarely found in the original cloth, together with his scarce 1837 reprint of *Mansfield Park*. *Pride and Prejudice* (Gilson D5) had the half-title, the engraved frontispiece and vignette title, the additional printed title and the ownership inscription of H.L. Honeyman and the bookplate of Chris Viveash to the front free endpaper. It was lightly spotted and in the original plum cloth. *Sense and Sensibility* (Gilson D1) had the half-title, the engraved frontispiece and vignette title, the additional printed title, four leaves of advertisements, and Chris Viveash's bookplate, with a bookseller's ticket to the front pastedown, lightly spotted, and in the original plum cloth. *Emma* (Gilson D2) also had the half-title, engraved frontispiece and vignette title, the additional printed title and Chris Viveash's bookplate with a small library stamp to the front pastedown. This too was in the original plum cloth, lightly spotted, and a few gatherings with a concomitant damp-stain to the upper right-hand corner (not affecting text). *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, (Gilson D4), two volumes in one with separate title pages, had the half-title, engraved frontispiece and vignette title, twelve advertisement leaves to the front and the bookplate of Sarah Johnson to the front pastedown, bound like the others in the original plum cloth. The 1837 *Mansfield Park* (Gilson D7) had the half-title, engraved frontispiece and vignette title, additional printed title, two advertisement leaves to the rear and the bookplate of Chris Viveash to the front

pastedown. The preliminaries were spotted and the binding was in the original plum cloth. David described this copy on page 226 of his bibliography, noting that the two advertisement leaves and the engraved frontispiece and engraved title were identical with those in the 1833 edition (Gilson D3). The estimate for this fine set from Chris and David's collection was £1,500 - £2,000 but it did far better, selling for £6,500.

Without details of the half-titles of this collection, together with those for the other two copies of the 1833 editions of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* listed above, I cannot be sure whether they are Bentley's Standard Novels series (D1-D5) or his actual collected edition (Gilson D6). This consisted of the reprinted Standard Novels, reissued as a set in five numbered volumes in October 1833. As David frequently had to point out, I muddled the two. As Winter has lumped them together as a collection, however, I have done the same in the interests of space – though the Gilson numbers he gives are actually for the Standard Novels.)

Other material

Quaritch's Spring catalogue of English books and manuscripts offered, at Item 7, a copy of the magnificent two-volume Bible printed by John Field in 1660 – the first to be issued after the restoration of Charles II. It bore the bookplate of Thomas Knight I (formerly Thomas Brodnax) who changed his name to Knight in 1738 on inheriting estates including Godmersham and Chawton. His son, Thomas Knight II, adopted Jane Austen's brother Edward. The volumes are listed in the 1818 catalogue of the Godmersham library and the 1908 catalogue of Chawton. Jane Austen was thus often in the same room and no doubt admired their superb bindings. The price was £16,000.

Item 4 in Karen Thomson's Catalogue 113, June 2022, was a copy of Bernard Nieuwentyt's *The Religious Philosopher: or, the right use of the contemplation of the world, for the conviction of atheists and infidels, By the learned Dr. Nieuwentyt. Translated from the original in Low Dutch, by John Chamberlayne, Esq; F.R.S.*, 1718. Vol. 1 only was in this sale; two further volumes were published in 1719. Lacking the front free endpaper it was bound in contemporary panelled calf, with a maroon morocco label, the spine gilt in compartments, red sprinkled edges, rear joint cracked and the front joint held by cords. Inscribed at the head of the front pastedown was 'Cass. Carnarvon', with the later bookplate of James Leigh of Adlestrop. The 'Cass. Carnarvon' who was the original owner of this book was born Cassandra Willughby; her father was the naturalist and ornithologist Francis Willughby who perhaps inspired her interest in this translation of Nieuwentyt's scientific work. She was married to James Brydges, a member of the wealthiest branch of Jane Austen's mother's family. Having been made Lord Carnarvon in 1714, James Brydges became the first Duke of Chandos in 1719, the year after the publication of this first volume. The fashion for the name Cassandra among the Leighs, which worked its way down even to Jane Austen's mother and sister, stemmed from this illustrious ancestor. The book descended through the family to James Leigh of Adlestrop (1724-1774), who lived at Adlestrop Park opposite the

parsonage, and whose bookplate is on the pastedown. He was the father of James Henry Leigh, the next incumbent of the Park. This book was purchased for £750 by Jane Austen's House, which was particularly keen to have it in time for next year, the 250th anniversary of Cassandra Austen's birth.

This very attractive catalogue included three other items of Leigh provenance. Item 1, priced at £2,250, was a copy, lacking the titlepage, of *The whole book of Psalms*, probably printed in 1641, in a contemporary embroidered silk binding, inscribed by the cousin of Jane Austen's mother, Mary Leigh; she was the daughter of Jane's great uncle, Theophilus Leigh. Her younger sister, Cassandra, married the Revd Samuel Cooke of Bookham, Jane's godfather. Item 2 (£4,500) was a Bible printed in 1764, also inscribed by Mary Leigh and inherited by her nephew, Samuel and Cassandra's son George Cooke, who wrote a note on its provenance on the pastedown. Item 3 (£1,250) was George's copy of *Sophoclis Tragediæ Septem. Ex editione R.F.P. Brunck* 1809. George was elected a scholar of Christ Church in 1797, and ordained in 1804. He was Jane's first cousin twice removed and she got on well with him. Letter 44, written to Cassandra from Bath, 21-23 April 1805, gives a pleasant description of his kindness, talking sense to her 'in the intervals of his more animated fooleries with Miss Bendish'.

Lot 44 at Forum Auctions, 31 August (spotted by Karen Ievers) was an association copy of *The Farmer's Kalendar*, 1771, with the bookplate of Jane Austen's great-nephew, Montagu George Knight. It had the half-title and was bound in contemporary calf. The estimate was £200 - £300 and it sold for £320.

Lot 345 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was a copy of the first edition, 1796, of Fanny Burney's *Camilla*, which lists 'Miss J. Austen, Steventon' among the subscribers. It had the bookplates of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, 4th Baronet (1795-1853) and the binding was contemporary light brown half morocco with his gilt crest on the spines. The bookplates of David Gilson and Chris Viveash were on the front endpapers. The estimate was £200 - £300 and it sold for £420.

Lot 370 at Dominic Winter on 7 September was the original pen, ink and watercolour drawing by Charles Edmund Brock for J.M. Dent & Co's 1909 edition of *Persuasion* - 'In spite of the formidable father & sister in the background'. It was captioned, signed and dated, within a decorative border, mounted, framed and glazed, with a Chris Beetles Ltd label and Chris Viveash's ownership label on the backboard. It had been Item 114 in Chris Beetles's exhibition *The Illustrators, The British Art of Illustration 1870- 2010*. The estimate was £300 - £500 but it sold for £1,150.

Lot 371 in the same sale was another of Brock's original illustrations for the 1909 *Persuasion* - 'In another moment . . . someone was taking him from her'. Like the former one above it was mounted, framed and glazed, with a Chris Beetles Ltd label on the backboard. It had been item 108 in his exhibition mentioned above. There was no mark of ownership but this, too, came from the Gilson - Viveash collection. The estimate was the same as for the previous drawing - £300 - £500; this one sold for £850.

Lot 586 at the Dominic Winter sale on 15 December was a collection of approximately fifty-five nineteenth and twentieth century autograph and typed letters with associations to Jane Austen's family. The writers included Emma Austen-Leigh (1868-1940), Alwyn Francis Herbert Austen (1921-2003), Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh (1872-1961), William Austen-Leigh (1843-1921), George Bentley (1828-1895), Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen, first Baron Brabourne (1829-1893), Charles Edmund Brock (1870-1938), Samuel Egerton Brydges (1762-1837), Robert William Chapman (1881-1960), James Stanier Clarke (1766-1834), George Colman, the younger (1762-1836), Robert William Elliston (1774-1831), Félicité Genlis (1746-1830), William Gifford (1766-1826), Geoffrey Keynes (1887-1982), Edward Knatchbull (1781-1849), Marghanita Laski (1915-1988), E.V. Lucas (1868-1938), Sydney Smith (1771-1845), John Sparrow (1906-1992) and Sylvia Townsend Warner (1893-1978). They were arranged with printed descriptions in a modern plastic display album, together with a folder of mostly modern and some reproduction Jane Austen illustrations and ephemera. It was part of the David Gilson and Chris Viveash collection. The estimate was £300 - £500 and the collection sold for £1,000.

Lot 587 in the same sale, also from the Gilson and Viveash collection, was a manuscript promissory note for £200 from Henry Austen's bank, dated 24 October 1806. The text read: 'Three months after date I promise to pay to Mr Henry Maunde or his order Two Hundred Pounds for Value recd. payable at Messrs Austen Maunde & Austen Bankers Albany', signed 'Ct [Count?] Stuarton.' A manuscript addendum to the verso read: 'H. Maunde. Pay the Contents to Hugh Moises MD Value in Account. Cha: James.' It was embossed with a four shilling duty stamp and was accompanied by a printed reward notice for five guineas relating to this specific manuscript promissory note, printed by C. Roworth, Bell-Yard, Temple-Bar, undated but ca. 1807/08, giving notice that the drawer of the promissory note had absconded and offering a reward, printing the content of the promissory note, followed by a dramatic and detailed description of the fraudster:

He is between 30 and 40 years old; about 5 feet 10 inches high; ill-looking; marked with the small pox; large red nose; light hair; of late dressed in black, in consequence of the death of Cardinal York, having passed himself for a descendent of the Royal House of Stuart; sometimes wears a bottle-green coat and half-boots; has a large seal to his chain, with a spiral coronet, and the letter S engraved under; speaks very full and quick; with a Dutch or German accent.

I wonder if they ever caught him. The item was acquired from Questor Rare Books in 1998 and David Gilson wrote an account of it in the *Report* for 2006, pp.43-45. He noted that it was not only debtors owing large sums but many owing smaller sums which led to the fall of Henry Austen's banking empire. He concluded by highlighting the connection between the printer, Charles Roworth, and the Austen family and noted that within a few years of this jobbing printing notice Roworth was to publish most of the first editions of Jane Austen's novels. The estimate was

only £200 - £300 and the Society hoped to buy it; but it sold for £800 so it has gone elsewhere.

Lot 612 at the same sale was an unusual publisher's sample volume for the Chawton edition of Jane Austen's Novels, New York, J.F. Taylor & Co, 1901. It comprised a hand-coloured frontispiece by Woodward Zeigler to *Northanger Abbey*, the title for *Northanger Abbey*, a plate-list for *Sense and Sensibility*, seven full-page hand-coloured illustrations by C.E. Brock for *Persuasion*, and text from *Mansfield Park* (pages 1-48, 275-286). The elaborate binding had a green morocco gilt backstrip mounted to the front free endpaper verso, rectos of endpapers covered in red silk, original green morocco gilt, top edge gilt, elaborate gilt foliate borders to covers, broad green morocco turn-ins incorporating red morocco centre panels, with gilt foliate rolls to the turn-ins, backstrip toned and some fading and marks. It did well; the estimate was £200 - £300 but it sold for £1,300.

Rita J. Dashwood

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Pens and Needles



Maggie Lane

In this talk, adapted for the Jane Austen Society AGM 2022 from my article of the same name which appeared in JASNA journal *Persuasions* No.42, I consider letter writing and needlework as female resources in the novels of Jane Austen, with special emphasis on *Mansfield Park*. For, restricted as they were to the domestic sphere, gentlewomen of Austen's time and milieu had two activities available to them which met social approval yet allowed a measure of autonomy – and both involved sharp implements: pens and needles.

Wielded creatively or subversively, in self-protection or self-promotion, these were the tools with which girls and ladies learned to fend off interference, attempt control of their own destinies, and even impose their will on others. Sedentary domestic pursuits thus might conceal a powerplay that was in fact far from conventionally passive and ladylike. Austen seizes on these aspects of female existence and exploits their different narrative possibilities to the full.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgement in *Persuasion* that the pen has been predominantly in male hands – historically, men have had greater opportunity to tell their own story – there is hardly a major female character in the novels who does not take up the pen at some point – though by no means as often as she takes up her needle. Writing notes and letters is a socially acceptable activity for women. The proviso here is the marital status of writer and recipient. Several of the young ladies defy convention and indulge in correspondence with a young man to whom they are not engaged – or not known to be engaged. Since the literary tradition from which Austen's work evolved was the epistolary novel, there could be no general prohibition on female writing. For her as a novelist, letters provide a rich seam of material, whether quoted direct or in summary.

Writing connects with others – unless a diary is being kept, which is not the case in Austen's novels, except ironically when Henry Tilney teases Catherine Morland in *Northanger Abbey*. Henry also has something characteristically witty

to say about common female deficiencies in letter-writing skills. Letters attempt to communicate, to entertain or influence the recipient in some way.

Emma Woodhouse is the influencer *par excellence* – until she learns to leave people to their own devices. Her part in persuading Harriet Smith to refuse Robert Martin is the cause of her quarrel with Mr Knightley. ‘You saw her answer! you wrote her answer too. Emma, this is your doing,’ he upbraids her, and with justification.¹ In the same novel, letter-writing is one of the very few outlets for her pent-up emotions available to Jane Fairfax, albeit for the most part surreptitiously. She exchanges letters with Frank Churchill in happier times – as Mr Knightley begins to suspect; later, when pushed to extremities of suffering, Jane writes desperate notes both to Emma, rebuffing her overtures of friendship, and to Frank himself, breaking off their engagement.

In *Pride and Prejudice*, Miss Bingley is at first successful in her attempts to manipulate Jane Bennet through superficially friendly, but self-serving notes and letters; later, Jane sees through such ploys. Likewise in *Northanger Abbey*, Isabella Thorpe, in a letter which is given verbatim, is too late to enlist Catherine Morland’s help in restoring her engagement to James Morland – Catherine has had her eyes opened: ‘Such a strain of shallow artifice could not impose even upon Catherine. Its inconsistencies, contradictions, and falsehood struck her from the very first’.² And in *Sense and Sensibility*, Willoughby’s unloved fiancée, Miss Grey, dictates the cruel letter to Marianne, servilely written out by him, returning her own letters. Though the handwriting is his, Willoughby later describes this letter bitterly and sarcastically as ‘delicate – tender – truly feminine ... her own happy thoughts and gentle diction’.³

Even when not so blatantly manipulative, letters, one of the two female resources examined here, are outward-looking. Needlework, women’s other resource, is usually a more solitary occupation, a useful device for concealing private thoughts. Many a heroine finds it expedient to bend over her ‘work’ to shield her face from male view at moments of high emotion, even the not normally bashful Elizabeth Bennet, when Mr Darcy calls at Longbourn as the dénouement of their courtship approaches, or Elinor Dashwood, at a similar moment of high embarrassment with Edward Ferrars, and who ‘sat with her head leaning over her work’ as he stammers out his explanations before she rushes out of the room.⁴ Emma Woodhouse’s case is different. She is already engaged to Mr Knightley, when he brings news that he fears will be unwelcome to her, of Harriet Smith’s acceptance of Robert Martin: she has ‘recourse to her work-basket, in excuse for leaning down her face, and concealing all the exquisite feelings of delight and entertainment which she knew she must be expressing’.⁵ This wish of concealment, it should be added, is motivated purely from desire to preserve Harriet’s secrets, and is an unselfish act of loyalty and reparation on Emma’s part.

This is probably the only time we witness Emma actually occupied in needlework, though she has plenty to say about it theoretically as ‘women’s usual occupations of hand and eye’ earlier in the novel. As well as occasionally being useful in shutting out men, needlework can also bond women together in family

or friendship groups. Jane Austen herself is said, by her nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh, to have enjoyed such female bonding: 'Some of her merriest talk was over clothes which she and her companions were making, sometimes for themselves, and sometimes for the poor.'⁶ Austen's own letters, and the fine examples of her needlework that survive, confirm the truth at the heart of this observation. Stitching, like piano-playing, may occupy the fingers while the mind and imagination range free.

And Mrs Norris wrote the letters

In this brief survey of women wielding sharp implements, I want now to focus on *Mansfield Park*, where they are particularly to the fore and particularly appropriate to a plot which involves much metaphorical stabbing and mending, real suffering and learning to defend the self. Fanny Price, gentlest of heroines, ultimately prevails over both her rival in love – Mary Crawford – and her tormentor, Mrs Norris, partly through her skill (and willingness) with her needle; and though, as befits her lowly position in the household, Fanny sews more and writes less, writing (or receiving) letters has an important role in her life. Her correspondence with absent brother William provides the outlet for her pent-up affections, while connecting her questing intelligence to the wider world beyond Mansfield. It is no coincidence that our first glimpse of Fanny, the first time we hear her voice, is as a child sobbing on the attic stairs over her desire to write the first letter to William, or that Edmund should be the person to provide Fanny with her first Mansfield pen – as he will provide so much else that forwards her emotional and intellectual growth.

Similarly, when Fanny first finds courage to contribute to the conversation between Edmund and Mary Crawford at one end of the Mansfield dinner table in chapter six, it is in defence of William's excellence as a correspondent. 'Fanny would rather have had Edmund tell the story, but his determined silence obliged her to relate her brother's situation; her voice was animated in speaking of his profession, and the foreign stations he had been on, but she could not mention the number of years he had been absent without tears in her eyes.' For William to write such lively, informative letters implies that Fanny responds with interest and curiosity as well as affection; her own excellence as a correspondent is implied, albeit that she has little news of her own. Since we cannot imagine the Portsmouth family writing to William, it is Fanny's interest which anchors him to home.

Underlying the importance of letter-writing in this novel, Mrs Norris, too, is first encountered in epistolary mode, though her motivation could not be more different from Fanny's. 'And Mrs Norris wrote the letters,' we read in chapter one of *Mansfield Park*. This is a woman who is never content to leave well alone and indeed, the first chapter is full of Mrs Norris writing letters. Her gratuitously 'long and angry' letter to her newly-married sister, Mrs Price, creates the family rift from which the action of the novel springs. Eleven years later, Mrs Price having addressed Lady Bertram in 'a letter which spoke so much contrition and despondence,' – a begging letter not without its effect in re-establishing peace and kindness – Mrs Norris takes a different tack. While Sir Thomas sends friendly

advice and his wife despatches money and baby-linen, Mrs Norris gets the credit for both by writing the accompanying letters.

What a busybody. She has sensed an outlet for ongoing interference which she is desirous to prolong. Within a year, she is 'wanting to do more' and conceives the idea of relieving Mrs Price of the upkeep of her eldest daughter, and transferring it to Sir Thomas; after resolutely talking down all his scruples, 'So, if you are not against it,' she says, 'I will write to my poor sister tomorrow'. Mrs Norris thus gains 'the credit of projecting and arranging so expensive a charity,' at no cost to herself. It is no fleeting satisfaction. She has contrived matters so that into her daily ambit will come a helpless young creature, a butt for her meanness, spitefulness and love of meddling. (Miss Fanny Ward had managed to escape from her eldest sister's bossing and bullying, driven into an untoward marriage; this new and more helpless version of 'Fanny' will prove sport for a good length of years.)

In truth, Mrs Norris's sphere of influence is small, confined to one family and one neighbourhood. So it is with almost all the women in Austen's novels. How then do they assert themselves and attempt to get their own way? Letter writing is an important resource. Even the indolent Lady Bertram writes letters, though you might not think it from the scenario in the first chapter, when she allows Mrs Norris to answer a letter which had been addressed to her. Towards the end of the novel, however, we read,

For though Lady Bertram rather shone in the epistolary line, having early in her marriage, from the want of other employment, and the circumstances of Sir Thomas's being in Parliament, got into the way of making and keeping correspondents, and formed for herself a very creditable, commonplace, amplifying style, so that very little matter was enough for her; she could not entirely do without any.⁷

Do I detect a little authorial confusion here, in these passages so widely apart both in narrative time – twenty years between the marriage of Mrs Price and the narrative present – and reading time – the beginning and denouement of the story? Or give it a more bewitching name than confusion: sleight of hand. Either way, it may be forgiven, because at both points, Lady Bertram's respective inactivity and activity are indispensable to the plot. We may stop briefly to wonder why Fanny has not been called upon, over the years, to help her helpless aunt with preparing paper, pens and ink, just as she helps almost every day of her life with Lady Bertram's needlework difficulties; Fanny is 'in the habit of writing *for* her aunt,'⁸ (my italics) which sounds more like little notes of business than taking dictation of those amplifying letters to correspondents; but if Austen herself noticed the discrepancy, she trusted to the gathering pace of her story to conceal it. Rightly so: what *has* been noticed by readers and critics, with admiration, is the development of Lady Bertram's character as her 'commonplace, amplifying style' gives way to 'the language of real feeling and alarm' writing 'as she might have spoken' when her ailing son is brought before her eyes, thereby turning Lady Bertram from a 'flat' to a 'round' character, in E.M. Forster's famous definition in *Aspects of the Novel*.

Letters and the information they bring play a large part in the last few chapters of the novel, as Fanny, stranded at Portsmouth, 'might now be said to live upon letters, and pass all her time between suffering from that of today, and looking forward to tomorrow's'. Fanny herself, however, is depicted only as a recipient, not a writer of letters making any attempt to influence her own fate. She is reduced to sending a verbal message via Henry Crawford: 'when you see my cousin – my cousin Edmund, I wish you would be so good as to say that – I suppose I shall soon hear from him.'⁹ And then when a letter from Edmund arrives, 'I never will – no I certainly never will wish for a letter again,' was Fanny's secret declaration, as she finished this. 'What do they bring but disappointment and sorrow?'¹⁰

So Fanny, it seems, is no letter-writer, a stance perhaps too active for her conception of her role in life, except when in 'equal, fearless' correspondence with William. Indeed, over the course of the novel, we read verbatim from Fanny's pen the text only of the one poor hurried note which she writes in response to Henry Crawford's importunings, addressed (as is proper) to his sister. 'Quite unpractised in such sort of note-writing, had there been time for scruples and fears as to style she would have felt them in abundance; but something must be instantly written,' and having thrust the folded note at Henry and turned away, she reflects that 'she had no doubt that her note must appear excessively ill-written, that the language would disgrace a child, for her distress had allowed no arrangement'.¹¹

It is with her needle that Fanny excels. We see or sense her stitching away in the background of family life through her teenage years; Mary Crawford admires her needlework; Tom Bertram can think no further than one workbox after another when he wishes to give Fanny a present, so accustomed is he to seeing a piece of sewing in her hands; and most consistently, she never fails in putting Lady Bertram's current sewing project 'of little use and no beauty' to rights when her ladyship gets into knots. Untangling and smoothing, Fanny helps her aunt ungrudgingly out of 'sweetness of temper, and strong feelings of gratitude'.¹² It would hardly be possible to attribute better motivation. Not servile, but unselfish and sweet.

Fanny, consciously or unconsciously minimising the cost of her upkeep, as she minimises everything else about herself, seems to make and mend her own clothes, as we can infer from the exceptional occurrence of her uncle making a gift of a gown to her on the occasion of Maria's wedding. At other times Fanny works from the poor basket or other projects of general utility, including costumes and curtains for the play, all of which come under Mrs Norris' direction, giving her a fine excuse to control and criticise.

There was a great deal of needlework to be done, moreover, in which [Fanny's] help was wanted; and that Mrs Norris thought her quite as well off as the rest, was evident by the manner in which she claimed it: "Come Fanny," she cried, "these are fine times for you, but you must not be always walking from one room to the other and doing the lookings-on, at your ease, in this way – I want you here, – I have been slaving myself till I can hardly stand, to contrive Mr Rushworth's cloak without sending for any more satin; and now I think you may give me your help in putting it together. – There are but three seams, you may do them in a trice. – It would be lucky for me if I had nothing but

the executive part to do. *You* are best off, I can tell you; but if nobody did more than *you*, we should not get on very fast.”¹³

To Mrs Norris, needlework is a means of making herself out to be indispensable, boosting her ego; to Fanny, a means of earning her keep within the family, and passing her time with a clear conscience. ‘Irreproachably,’ in fact, to use the adverb which the author somewhat mockingly applies to Lady Bertram’s mode of passing her time – making yards of useless fringe – during her husband’s absence in Antigua. On this occasion, Fanny ‘took the work very quietly without attempting any defence,’¹⁴ and on another, similar occasion when she retreats to a far sofa with a headache, she endures reproaches from Mrs Norris:

“That is a very foolish trick, Fanny, to be idling away all evening upon a sofa. Why cannot you come and sit here, and employ yourself as *we* do? – If you have no work of your own, I can supply you from the poor-basket. There is all the new calico that was bought last week, not touched yet. I am sure I almost broke my back by cutting it out. You should learn to think of other people; and take my word for it, it is a shocking trick for a young person to be always lolling upon a sofa.” Before half this was said, Fanny was returned to her seat at the table, and had taken up her work again.¹⁵

As we increasingly see, Mrs Norris has her priorities wrong and will never change: ‘too busy in contriving and directing the general little matters of the company, superintending their various dresses with economical expedient, for which nobody thanked her, and saving, with delighted integrity, half a crown here and there to the absent Sir Thomas, to have leisure for watching the behaviour, or guarding the happiness of his daughters.’¹⁶ Only Fanny observes and understands what is going on in the household, and has the strength of character to adhere to what is right. The female activity of sewing thereby represents a moral struggle between aunt and niece. When to this is added the various degrees of Lady Bertram’s languid hopelessness, Julia Bertram’s lack of skill, Mary Crawford’s lack of interest, and, most culpable of all, as the mother of a large family, Mrs Price’s mismanagement and ineffectual bustle, ‘always behindhand and lamenting it, without altering her ways’,¹⁷ Fanny’s ability with her needle and readiness to wield it in the service of others, are shown as admirable traits.

While Mrs Norris interrupts William Price’s enthralling recital of his adventures abroad by fidgeting about ‘in quest of two needlefuls of thread or a second-hand shirt button’,¹⁸ purposely to draw attention to herself, because she cannot bear to sit quietly, Fanny is consistently self-effacing. On arrival at Portsmouth, Fanny

anxious to be useful, and not to appear above her home, or in any way disqualified or disinclined, by her foreign education, from contributing her help to its comforts . . . set about working for Sam immediately, and by working early and late, with perseverance and great dispatch, did so much, that the boy was shipped off at last, with more than half his linen ready. She had great pleasure in feeling her usefulness, but could not conceive how they would have managed without her.¹⁹

As the weeks wear on at Portsmouth, if Fanny is less liable to wield her pen than her needle, it is because to do so would be to act for her own benefit, to effect her escape through letter-writing. Mary Crawford has no such scruples – she will write letters not to cement friendships, but to get her own way, if she possibly can. Thus Fanny and Mary are almost as much opposed as Fanny and Mrs Norris. Mary Crawford and Mrs Norris poke and jab with their sharp instruments, ultimately ineffectually. Kindness and integrity would have served them better. These Fanny has.

‘She . . . could not conceive how they would have managed without her.’ And manage without her, indeed, Mansfield itself cannot. As Sir Thomas comes to realise, once disgraced Maria, disappointing Julia, and most crucially Mrs Norris with her cruel pens and needles, have taken themselves off, to the regret of nobody, he has ‘a great acquisition in the promise of Fanny for a daughter . . . Fanny was indeed the daughter he wanted’. Fanny Price, the poor relation, could almost be said to have sewn her way – certainly to have *worked* her way – into the very fabric of life at Mansfield Park.

References to the novels are taken from *The novels of Jane Austen*, ed R.W.Chapman, Oxford University Press, 3rd edition, 1966.

Notes

1. *E*, p.60
2. *NA*, p.218
3. *S&S*, p.328
4. *Ibid.*, p.360
5. *E*, p.471
6. Austen-Leigh, J. E. *A Memoir of Jane Austen and Other Family Recollections*. Ed. Kathryn Sutherland. Oxford: OUP, 2002, p.77
7. *MP*, p.425
8. *Ibid.*, p.307
9. *Ibid.* p.412
10. *Ibid.* p.424
11. *Ibid.* pp.307-308
12. *Ibid.* p.472
13. *Ibid.* p.166
14. *Ibid.* p.167
15. *Ibid.* p.71
16. *Ibid.* p.163
17. *Ibid.* p.389
18. *Ibid.* p.236
19. *Ibid.* p.390

Contributors

Roy and Lesley Adkins are husband-and-wife historians and archaeologists, who have written numerous books that have been translated into seventeen languages. They include *Eavesdropping on Jane Austen's England*; *Trafalgar, The War for All the Oceans*; *Jack Tar*, and *Gibraltar: The Greatest Siege in British History*. Their latest book is *When There Were Birds: The Forgotten History of our Connections*. They are both Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Fellows of the Royal Historical Society and Members of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists.

John Avery Jones CBE is a retired Judge of the Upper Tribunal (Tax and Chancery Chamber) and a retired visiting professor at the London School of Economics. His articles on the legal and tax aspects of Jane Austen and her family have appeared in the *JAS Annual Report* and in *JASNA's Persuasions Online*.

Mark Ballard has been an archivist at the Kent county archives, Maidstone since 1991, during its incarnations as the Centre for Kentish Studies and now Kent History and Library Centre, apart from an interlude working on projects for East Sussex Record Office, Tower Hamlets Archives, and the Survey of London, between 2012 and 2016. He attended two educational establishments in common with the Revd George Austen, Jane's father: Tonbridge School, and St John's College, Oxford, where after a degree in History at St Andrews, he undertook postgraduate research into the fifteenth century.

Angela Barlow has had an extensive career in theatre (from Shakespeare to Alan Bennett via Molière, John Osborne and Andrew Davies) and in television (*Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *My Family and Other Animals*, *Casualty*, *Crossroads*, etc.). When this was cut short by illness, she turned to Jane Austen. Her record of speaking to Austen societies and groups includes appearances in the UK, the US and Australia. Angela's talks are injected with dramatic moments, bringing Jane and her characters to life. *Jane Austen and London* is her current talk, and, with her writing hat on, she has contributed a chapter, 'Jane Austen and the Theatre', to *Jane Austen and the Arts*, to be published by Edinburgh University Press.

Hanne Danielsen holds an M.A. in English Literature and Translation from the University of Copenhagen. Her love for and interest in Austen are of many years' duration and as part of her postgraduate course, she studied at the University of Southampton, where she took Professor Emma Clery's course on Jane Austen. She also assisted Professor Christina Lupton with her research for the introduction and revised notes for the Oxford World Classic's 2019 version of *Pride and Prejudice*. On the 25 November 2022, she received a gold medal from Queen Margrethe of Denmark for her research on the first unofficial Danish translation of *Pride and Prejudice*.

Rita J. Dashwood is the Postdoctoral Research Associate in the Libraries, Reading Communities and Cultural Formation in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Project at the University of Liverpool. Her work has been published in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, in *Nineteenth-Century Studies* and in several edited collections of essays. She won the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies President's Prize for her research on Austen. Her first book, *Women and Property Ownership in Jane Austen*, was published by Peter Lang in 2022.

Stephanie Emo has a degree in chemistry from the University of St Andrews and has worked as a research chemist and a data analyst. Having always had a love for literature, she fulfilled a long-held ambition to become a volunteer steward at Jane Austen's House in 2017. She is currently helping the House to catalogue the correspondence held in its archives.

Jocelyn Harris professor emerita of English at the University of Otago, New Zealand, began by editing one of Jane Austen's favourite books, Samuel Richardson's *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (Oxford University Press, 1971). Then followed *Samuel Richardson* (1987) and *Jane Austen's Art of Memory* (1989), both published by Cambridge University Press; *A Revolution Almost Beyond Expression: Jane Austen's Persuasion* (University of Delaware Press, 2007), and *Satire, Celebrity and Politics in Jane Austen* (Bucknell University Press, 2017). She frequently writes and speaks about Jane Austen's art and times.

Jane Hurst is a local historian, researcher, writer and guide based in Alton, Hampshire. She is a regular contributor to Jane Austen Society publications and her books include *Jane Austen and Chawton*, *Jane Austen and Alton* and *William Curtis, Altonian and Botanist*.

Azar Hussain is an independent researcher based in the UK. His research is focused on the eighteenth century and specifically on Jane Austen. A number of his articles have appeared in *Notes & Queries* and *Persuasions/Persuasions On-Line*.

Maggie Lane is the author of many books including *Literary Daughters*, *Jane Austen and Food*, *Jane Austen's World*, *Growing Older with Jane Austen* and *On the Sofa with Jane Austen*. Since 1991 Maggie has served the Jane Austen Society in various capacities, including a period as Editor of the *JAS News Letter* and the *Annual Report*. She was active in establishing two of the Society's regional branches and has lectured on many aspects of Jane Austen's life and work in the UK and beyond.

Devoney Looser Regents Professor of English at Arizona State University and Guggenheim Fellow, is the author of nine books, including *The Making of Jane*

Austen and *The Daily Jane Austen: A Year of Quotes*. Her essays have appeared in many publications including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *TLS*. Her most recent book, *Sister Novelists: The Trailblazing Porter Sisters*, was published by Bloomsbury USA in September 2022.

Christine Penney spent most of her working life at the University of Birmingham, first as University Archivist and then as Head of Special Collections for the last ten years before retirement. She is currently Hon. Hurd Librarian at Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire, and has been compiling Notes on Sales for the Jane Austen Society since 1995.

Michael Riordan is the Archivist of St John's College and The Queen's College in the University of Oxford, and an early-modern historian. He mostly writes about the management and use of archives in the early-modern period.

Peter Sabor holds a Canada Research Chair at McGill University, Montreal, where he is also Director of the Burney Centre. He is the editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Emma* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and Principal Investigator for the website *Reading with Austen* (www.readingwithausten.com).

Report of the Trustees and
Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31st December 2022
for
The Jane Austen Society

The Jane Austen Society

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for the Year Ended 31st December 2022

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**Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

The trustees present their report with the financial statements of the charity for the year ended 31st December 2022. The trustees have adopted the provisions of Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1 January 2019).

OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Objectives and aims

The principal objective of the Society is as follows:

To promote the advancement of education for the public benefit of the life and works of Jane Austen and the Austen family.

The objective is primarily achieved by the production of publications relating to the life and works of Jane Austen, through education and by contributions to academic debate regarding Jane Austen, her works and family.

The Society, where appropriate, may seek to preserve artefacts relating to Jane Austen, either by purchase or by contributions towards expenses. In particular it may contribute to projects at Jane Austen's House Museum in Chawton.

The Society's objectives for the year were to build on the progress made in previous years and to raise the profile of the Society by the production of new articles and publications.

Public Benefit

When planning activities and considering the making of grants, the trustees have considered the Charity Commission's guidance on public benefit and in particular, the specific guidance on charities for the advancement of education and the advancement of the arts, culture, heritage or science.

The trustees believe that the Society fulfils these objectives through its educational activities, by its contribution to historical research regarding Jane Austen and the preservation of artefacts relating to Jane Austen and the Austen family.

Significant activities

The Society did not produce or reprint any publications in the year. The annual conference was held in Weymouth in September 2022.

In anticipation of the 250th anniversary of Jane Austen's birth in 2025, the trustees launched a fundraising initiative in 2018 to support the educational role of the Society. This is known as the "Jane Austen 250 Fund" and although an unrestricted fund, a purpose which the trustees specifically wish to support is the educational activity of the Jane Austen's House Museum. No grants were made from this fund in 2022 or 2021. Three payments totalling £200 were made from the fund in respect of the Society's essay prize (2021 - three payments totalling £300).

No applications were received for grants from the Education Fund during the year. The cost of the Society's new website, however, amounting to £25,445 was charged to this fund in 2021 as in the opinion of the trustees this enhanced functionality contributes to the educational objective of the Society.

**Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

FINANCIAL REVIEW

The financial results for the year are set out in the Statement of Financial Activities on page 5 of these financial statements.

There was a deficit of income over expenditure on the general fund of £1,425 in the year (2021 surplus £16,652). This deficit was increased by a decrease in the value of the Society's investments of £30,146 (2021 - increase of £32,207).

Further information regarding the charity's reserves is given in the accounting policies note on page 8 of the financial statements.

FUTURE PLANS

The trustees' aims in the future are to continue to promote the objects of the Society, by the production of publications, the organisation of conferences and any other activities which they consider appropriate.

At the 2022 Annual General Meeting, the members voted to dissolve the existing charity and set up a Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO) to take over the Society's activities. The CIO was registered with The Charity Commission on 21st September 2022. It is expected that the assets of the existing charity will be transferred to the CIO in the year commencing 1st January 2023.

The trustees believe that it is in the long term interest of the Society to adopt a legal framework and constitution more suited to the current times.

STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Governing document

The Jane Austen Society is governed by the Constitution adopted on 16th July 1994 as amended on 26th July 2003.

Organisational structure

The Society is administered by the trustees, who in accordance with the constitution number not less than 10 nor more than 17.

All trustees (including the officers) are elected by ballot of the members of the Society for a period of five years and are then eligible for re-election. The trustees in addition may appoint up to four co-opted members.

On appointment trustees are given information on the role of a trustee and Charity Law.

The trustees met three times during the year, and in addition a joint meeting was held with representatives of the branches and groups.

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Registered Charity number

1040613

Principal address

Maureen Stiller
20 Parsonage Road
Henfield
West Sussex
BN5 9JG

**Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

Trustees

Fiona Ainsworth
Sharron Bassett
Emma Clery
Marion Davies
Clare Graham
Mary Hogg
Matthew Huntley - Honorary Treasurer
Richard Jenkins - Chairman
Marilyn Joice (resigned 9.7.22)
Michael Kenning - Vice Chairman
Elizabeth Proudman (resigned 9.7.22)
Fiona Riley
Maureen Stiller - Honorary Secretary
Heather Thomas

Independent Examiner

D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA
Sheen Stickland
Chartered Accountants
2 Oriel Court
Omega Park
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 2YT

Bankers

TSB Bank plc
40 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BQ

EVENTS SINCE THE END OF THE YEAR

Information relating to events since the end of the year is given in the notes to the financial statements.

RESERVES

The Society's policy regarding reserves is detailed in note 1 on page 8 of these accounts. The trustees consider, on the basis of current information available, that these funds are adequate to meet their known future commitments.

Approved by order of the board of trustees on 02/06/2023 and signed on its behalf by:


Richard Jenkins - Trustee

Independent Examiner's Report to the Trustees of The Jane Austen Society

Independent examiner's report to the trustees of The Jane Austen Society

I report to the charity trustees on my examination of the accounts of The Jane Austen Society (the Trust) for the year ended 31st December 2022.

Responsibilities and basis of report

As the charity trustees of the Trust you are responsible for the preparation of the accounts in accordance with the requirements of the Charities Act 2011 ('the Act').

I report in respect of my examination of the Trust's accounts carried out under Section 145 of the Act and in carrying out my examination I have followed all applicable Directions given by the Charity Commission under Section 145(5)(b) of the Act.

Independent examiner's statement

I have completed my examination. I confirm that no material matters have come to my attention in connection with the examination giving me cause to believe that in any material respect:

1. accounting records were not kept in respect of the Trust as required by Section 130 of the Act; or
2. the accounts do not accord with those records; or
3. the accounts do not comply with the applicable requirements concerning the form and content of accounts set out in the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 other than any requirement that the accounts give a true and fair view which is not a matter considered as part of an independent examination.

I have no concerns and have come across no other matters in connection with the examination to which attention should be drawn in this report in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.



D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA

Sheen Stickland
Chartered Accountants
2 Oriel Court
Omega Park
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 2YT

Date:

13th June 2023

The Jane Austen Society

Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	2022 Total funds £	2021 Total funds £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM					
Subscriptions, donations and legacies	2	26,185	-	26,185	24,739
Other charitable activities	3	50,218	-	50,218	37,591
Investment income	4	6,841	-	6,841	6,666
Total		<u>83,244</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>83,244</u>	<u>68,996</u>
EXPENDITURE ON					
Raising funds		275	-	275	308
Charitable activities					
Charitable activities		<u>83,819</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>83,819</u>	<u>75,987</u>
Total		<u>84,094</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>84,094</u>	<u>76,295</u>
Net gains/(losses) on investments		<u>(30,146)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>(30,146)</u>	<u>32,207</u>
NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE)		<u>(30,996)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>(30,996)</u>	<u>24,908</u>
RECONCILIATION OF FUNDS					
Total funds brought forward		<u>360,608</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>361,608</u>	<u>336,700</u>
TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD		<u><u>329,612</u></u>	<u><u>1,000</u></u>	<u><u>330,612</u></u>	<u><u>361,608</u></u>

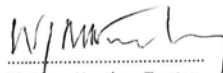
The Jane Austen Society

Balance Sheet
31st December 2022

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	2022 Total funds £	2021 Total funds £
FIXED ASSETS					
Heritage assets	8	60,000	-	60,000	60,000
Investments	9	229,101	-	229,101	259,246
		<u>289,101</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>289,101</u>	<u>319,246</u>
CURRENT ASSETS					
Stocks	10	-	-	-	275
Debtors	11	2,600	-	2,600	2,647
Cash at bank and in hand		41,811	1,000	42,811	44,129
		<u>44,411</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>45,411</u>	<u>47,051</u>
CREDITORS					
Amounts falling due within one year	12	(3,900)	-	(3,900)	(4,689)
		<u>40,511</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>41,511</u>	<u>42,362</u>
NET CURRENT ASSETS					
		<u>40,511</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>41,511</u>	<u>42,362</u>
TOTAL ASSETS LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES		<u>329,612</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>330,612</u>	<u>361,608</u>
NET ASSETS		<u>329,612</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>330,612</u>	<u>361,608</u>
FUNDS	13				
Unrestricted funds				329,612	360,608
Restricted funds				1,000	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS				<u>330,612</u>	<u>361,608</u>

The financial statements were approved by the Board of Trustees and authorised for issue on 23.06.2023 and were signed on its behalf by:


Richard Jenkyns - Trustee


Matthew Huntley - Trustee

**Notes to the Financial Statements
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Basis of preparing the financial statements

The financial statements of the charity, which is a public benefit entity under FRS 102, have been prepared in accordance with 'Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1st January 2019) - (Charities SORP (FRS 102))', 'The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland - (FRS102)' and the Charities Act 2011.

The financial statements have been prepared under the historical cost convention with the exception of investments which are included at market value, as modified by the revaluation of certain assets.

Income

All income is recognised in the Statement of Financial Activities once the charity has entitlement to the funds; it is probable that the income will be received and the amount can be measured reliably.

Expenditure

Liabilities are recognised as expenditure as soon as there is a legal or constructive obligation committing the charity to that expenditure; it is probable that a transfer of economic benefits will be required in settlement and the amount of the obligation can be measured reliably. Expenditure is accounted for on an accruals basis and has been classified under headings that aggregate all cost related to the category. Where costs cannot be directly attributed to particular headings they have been allocated to activities on a basis consistent with the use of resources.

Grants offered subject to conditions which have not been met at the year end date are noted as a commitment but not accrued as expenditure.

Stocks

Prior to 31st December 2017, purchases of publications for resale were written off in equal instalments over a period of five years. Stocks therefore represented the unamortised portion of the last four years purchases. Given the level of sales of publications in recent years, the trustees made the decision to write off the balance of the stock of publications in the year ended 31st December 2017.

Stocks held at branches of publications purchased direct from suppliers by those branches are not shown in the accounts.

Stocks of fundraising items for resale are valued at the lower of cost and net realisable value. The trustees have made the decision to write off the remaining stock of fund raising items in the year ended 31st December 2022.

Taxation

The charity is exempt from tax on its charitable activities.

Fund accounting

Unrestricted Fund is a fund of which the trustees of the Society have unrestricted authority to spend the income and the capital to further the objectives of the Jane Austen Society.

Designated Funds represent unrestricted funds earmarked for particular purposes by the trustees of the Society in the exercise of their discretionary powers.

Restricted Funds are funds which are subject to a restriction as to their use.

Further explanation of the nature and purpose of each fund is included in the notes to the financial statements.

continued...

**Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES - continued

Investments

Investments are stated at mid-market value at the balance sheet date. All movements in value arising from investment changes are shown in the Statement of Financial Activities.

Unrealised gains and/or losses are the difference in market value of investments held at the beginning of the year, or their cost if purchased in the year, and at the end of the year.

Heritage assets

As explained further in note 7 to the financial statements, the majority of the heritage assets owned by the Society were gifted to Jane Austen's House Museum in the year ended 31st December 2020.

The remaining heritage asset as detailed in note 7 to the financial statements will remain the property of the Society. Under the provisions of the Charities SORP this asset is included on the balance sheet at its latest valuation.

Reserves

The balance of the general fund (excluding designated funds and the value of heritage assets) represents approximately 22 months expenditure (based on expenditure in the year ended 31st December 2022) which the trustees consider to be appropriate in the circumstances.

£120,000 of the legacies received in the years ended 31st December 2003 and 31st December 2004 was transferred to a designated fund. It was originally intended that the income from this fund would be used to provide travel bursaries to those wishing to carry out studies in furtherance of the charitable objects of the Society. It has now been decided by the trustees that this fund should be re-designated to cover a wider range of educational activities. The trustees consider that the Society website forms part of its educational activities and therefore the cost of upgrading this has been charged to the Education Fund.

Branches and Groups

Branches of the Society as defined in charity law are an integral part of the Society and as such enjoy various privileges and responsibilities in regard to the Society. In particular a branch can call upon the Society for financial support and is covered by the public liability insurance of the Society. The financial results of the branches are incorporated into the Society's statement of financial activities and the assets and liabilities of branches are included in the Society's balance sheet.

A group is an informal gathering of members of the Society (or others) from a particular area and has no connection in law with The Jane Austen Society, and the financial activities of groups are not included in these accounts.

During the year the London and Hampshire groups became branches of the Society.

Details of activities of the branches are shown in note 14 to the accounts.

Website Costs

Website costs are recognised as an expense in the year of expenditure as, in the opinion of the trustees, the primary function of the website is to promote the activities of the charity and therefore does not meet the conditions required to be treated as an intangible fixed asset.

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022

2. SUBSCRIPTIONS, DONATIONS AND LEGACIES

	2022	2021
	£	£
Annual subscriptions received	16,800	16,297
Gift Aid tax recoverable	2,600	2,646
Sundry donations and receipts	6,785	5,796
	<u>26,185</u>	<u>24,739</u>

3. OTHER CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES

	2022	2021
	£	£
Sales of fundraising items	110	20
Income from events	26,901	18,140
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	1,347	-
Income of branches	21,860	19,431
	<u>50,218</u>	<u>37,591</u>

4. INVESTMENT INCOME

	2022	2021
	£	£
Income from listed investments	<u>6,841</u>	<u>6,666</u>

5. TRUSTEES' REMUNERATION AND BENEFITS

There were no trustees' remuneration or other benefits for the year ended 31st December 2022 nor for the year ended 31st December 2021.

Trustees' expenses

During the year a total of £4,040 was reimbursed to seven trustees in respect of travelling and other expenses (2021 - £1,269).

6. COMPARATIVES FOR THE STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

	Unrestricted funds	Restricted funds	Total funds
	£	£	£
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM			
Subscriptions, donations and legacies	24,739	-	24,739
Other charitable activities	37,591	-	37,591
Investment income	6,666	-	6,666
Total	<u>68,996</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>68,996</u>
EXPENDITURE ON			
Raising funds	308	-	308

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022

6. COMPARATIVES FOR THE STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES - continued

	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	Total funds £
Charitable activities			
Charitable activities	75,987	-	75,987
Total	<u>76,295</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>76,295</u>
 Net gains on investments	 32,207	 -	 32,207
 NET INCOME	 24,908	 -	 24,908
 RECONCILIATION OF FUNDS			
Total funds brought forward	335,700	1,000	336,700
 TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD	 <u>360,608</u>	 <u>1,000</u>	 <u>361,608</u>

7. NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE) FOR THE YEAR

This is stated after charging

	2022 £	2021 £
Independent examiner's remuneration	1,900	1,800
Other accountancy fees	2,000	1,770
	<u>3,900</u>	<u>3,570</u>

8. HERITAGE ASSETS

	Total £
MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January 2022 and 31st December 2022	60,000
NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2022	60,000
At 31st December 2021	60,000

Over many years the Society had been given or had purchased mementoes of Jane Austen comprising items of jewellery, furniture and early editions of Jane Austen's work etc. which were maintained on public display at the Jane Austen's House Museum, Chawton. Portraits of various members of the Austen family have also been donated to the Society over the years.

In September 2020 all of these assets other than the portrait of Edward Austen-Knight, as mentioned below, were transferred to Jane Austen's House Museum by way of deed of gift.

continued...

**Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

8. HERITAGE ASSETS - continued

The portrait of Edward Austen-Knight was acquired by the Society in 1953. This portrait is now on display at Chawton House Library under a long term loan agreement. This is included in the financial statements as a heritage asset as set out above. .

The Society has a clear duty of care for this asset and provisions in this respect are set out in the loan agreement. Any decision regarding public access to the portrait will be at the discretion of Chawton House Library.

The Society does not envisage the acquisition of any heritage assets in the future but will continue to support the Jane Austen's House Museum in any appropriate acquisition by the museum, in particular by the use of funds held in the 250 Fund.

9. FIXED ASSET INVESTMENTS

	Listed investments £
MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January 2022	259,246
Revaluations	(30,145)
	<u>229,101</u>
At 31st December 2022	<u>229,101</u>
NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2022	<u>229,101</u>
At 31st December 2021	<u>259,246</u>

There were no investment assets outside the UK.

Cost or valuation at 31st December 2022 is represented by:

	Listed investments £
Valuation in 2022	<u>229,101</u>

Investments at 31st December 2022 represents 12,605 units in the COIF Charities Investment Fund.

The historical cost of fixed asset investments at 31st December 2022 was £154,922 (2021 - £154,922).

continued...

**Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

10. STOCKS

	2022 £	2021 £
Fundraising items for resale	-	275
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

Given the age of the stock of fundraising items and the limited number of sales in recent years, the decision was taken to write off the remaining value of the stock as at 31st December 2022.

11. DEBTORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	2022 £	2021 £
Other debtors	2,600	2,647
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

12. CREDITORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	2022 £	2021 £
Other creditors	-	1,119
Accruals and deferred income	3,900	3,570
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	3,900	4,689
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

13. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS

	At 1.1.22 £	Net movement in funds £	At 31.12.22 £
Unrestricted funds			
General fund	244,645	(31,571)	213,074
Education fund	100,555	-	100,555
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	10,000
250 fund	5,408	575	5,983
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	360,608	(30,996)	329,612
Restricted funds			
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	1,000
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>361,608</u>	<u>(30,996)</u>	<u>330,612</u>

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022

13. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS - continued

Net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	82,469	(83,894)	(30,146)	(31,571)
250 fund	775	(200)	-	575
	<u>83,244</u>	<u>(84,094)</u>	<u>(30,146)</u>	<u>(30,996)</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>83,244</u>	<u>(84,094)</u>	<u>(30,146)</u>	<u>(30,996)</u>

Comparatives for movement in funds

	At 1.1.21 £	Net movement in funds £	At 31.12.21 £
Unrestricted funds			
General fund	195,786	48,859	244,645
Education fund	126,000	(25,445)	100,555
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	10,000
250 fund	3,914	1,494	5,408
	<u>335,700</u>	<u>24,908</u>	<u>360,608</u>
Restricted funds			
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	1,000
	<u>336,700</u>	<u>24,908</u>	<u>361,608</u>

Comparative net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	67,039	(50,387)	32,207	48,859
Education fund	-	(25,445)	-	(25,445)
250 fund	1,957	(463)	-	1,494
	<u>68,996</u>	<u>(76,295)</u>	<u>32,207</u>	<u>24,908</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>68,996</u>	<u>(76,295)</u>	<u>32,207</u>	<u>24,908</u>

continued...

**Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**
14. RELATED PARTY DISCLOSURES

There were no related party transactions for the year ended 31st December 2022.

15. POST BALANCE SHEET EVENTS

A proposal to convert the charity to a Charitable Incorporated Organisation was agreed by the members at the 2022 Annual General Meeting. The assets of the charity will be transferred to the new organisation during the year commencing 1st January 2023. The trustees do not consider that this will have any impact on the day to day running of the charity.

16. BRANCHES

	Midlands £	Kent £	Northern £	Scotland £	South West £	London £	Hampshire £	Total £
Income								
Subscriptions	685	945	942	973	650	620	374	5,189
Income from events	611	1,146	1,812	4,318	2,227	4,338	594	15,046
Sales of publications	-	76	-	145	149	127	-	497
Donations	-	1,000	15	30	30	23	25	1,123
Interest	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	5
Funds introduced	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<u>1,297</u>	<u>3,167</u>	<u>2,772</u>	<u>5,467</u>	<u>3,056</u>	<u>5,108</u>	<u>993</u>	<u>21,860</u>
	Midlands £	Kent £	Northern £	Scotland £	South West £	London £	Hampshire £	Total £
Expenses								
Expenses of events	922	1,336	987	5,378	2,537	5,345	483	16,988
Cost of publications	-	502	852	-	-	395	-	1,749
Donations	-	25	-	-	-	-	250	275
Administration expenses	30	206	349	887	132	147	160	1,911
	<u>952</u>	<u>2,069</u>	<u>2,188</u>	<u>6,265</u>	<u>2,669</u>	<u>5,887</u>	<u>893</u>	<u>20,923</u>
Branch surplus/(deficit)	<u>345</u>	<u>1,098</u>	<u>584</u>	<u>(798)</u>	<u>387</u>	<u>(779)</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>937</u>

The Jane Austen Society

**Detailed Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

	2022 £	2021 £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS		
Subscriptions, donations and legacies		
Annual subscriptions received	16,800	16,297
Gift Aid tax recoverable	2,600	2,646
Sundry donations and receipts	6,785	5,796
	<u>26,185</u>	<u>24,739</u>
Other charitable activities		
Sales of fundraising items	110	20
Income from events	26,901	18,140
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	1,347	-
Income of branches	21,860	19,431
	<u>50,218</u>	<u>37,591</u>
Investment income		
Income from listed investments	6,841	6,666
Total incoming resources	<u>83,244</u>	<u>68,996</u>
EXPENDITURE		
Other trading activities		
Purchase of fundraising Items (after stock adjustment)	275	308
Charitable activities		
Printing and stationery	-	163
Website	1,990	25,445
Subscriptions	25	25
Insurance	451	586
Sundry expenses	-	57
Newsletter	8,865	7,754
Expenses of events	26,900	16,168
Members' database	858	1,118
Annual General Meeting	8,835	1,400
Annual Report	6,300	6,818
Bank charges	544	868
Expenses of branches	20,923	11,167
Grants	200	500
	<u>75,891</u>	<u>72,069</u>

This page does not form part of the statutory financial statements

The Jane Austen Society

**Detailed Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2022**

	2022 £	2021 £
Support costs		
Management		
Trustees' expenses	912	348
Governance costs		
Accountancy fees	3,900	3,570
Legal and professional fees	3,116	-
	<u>7,016</u>	<u>3,570</u>
Total resources expended	<u>84,094</u>	<u>76,295</u>
Net expenditure	<u>(850)</u>	<u>(7,299)</u>

This page does not form part of the statutory financial statements



ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE from the GARDEN.

W. H. Stiles del. & sculp.